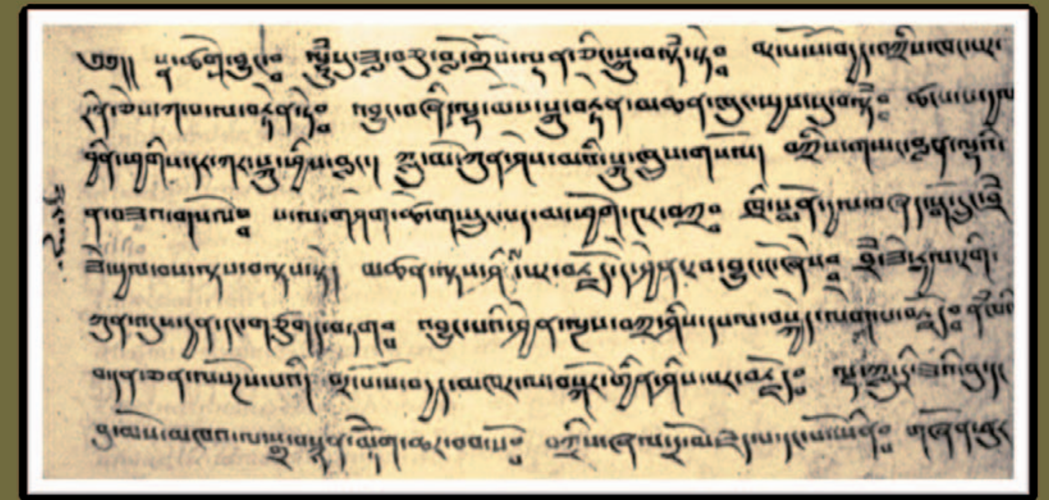
# The Emergence of a Myth

## In Search of the Origins of the Life Story of Shenrab Miwo, the Founder of Bon



Kalsang Norbu Gurung

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# THE EMERGENCE OF A MYTH

## IN SEARCH OF THE ORIGINS OF THE LIFE STORY OF SHENRAB MIWO, THE FOUNDER OF BON

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag, 31 mei 2011

klokke 16.15 uur

door

Kalsang Norbu Gurung
geboren te Jomsom
in 1973

Promotiecommissie:

| | |
|---|---|
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# TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

All titles of Tibetan books will be transcribed using the Wylie Tibetan transliteration system (see table below) with the main syllable capitalized and in italics. Unless otherwise specified, all non-European terms used in this dissertation are to be understood as Tibetan words (except Chinese or Sanskrit words that have already been co-opted into the English language).

The names of people and places will mostly be transcribed phonetically, according to my own understanding of English pronunciation, from the standard Tibetan classical reading. However, on several occasions I use Tibetan transliteration for personal names, and words with specific purposes. This is done when I need to describe the meanings of original Tibetan words and to discuss their usages in other contexts. Personal titles or family names are transcribed using Tibetan transliteration.

The Wylie Tibetan transliteration system does not use any diacritics for Tibetan words, but I will use diacritics for original Sanskrit words. For instance, both Shenrab (Tib. *gshen rab*) and Śākyamuni contain the same phoneme '*sh*' when written in Tibetan, but they are transcribed differently here. The former is transcribed without the use of diacritics and the latter with diacritics.

The Wylie Tibetan transliteration system is based on Turrell Wylie's *A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription* (published in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, volume 22, 1959, pp. 261–267), and Devanāgarī transliteration is based on the article $\text{X}^{\text{me}}$ Congrès International des Orientalistes, Session de Genève. *Rapport de la Commission de Transcription*, 1894.

| Tibetan alphabet | | Devanāgarī alphabet for Sanskrit and Pāli | |
|---|---|---|---|
| i u e o | | a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ e ai o au ṁ ḥ | |
| ka kha ga nga | ca cha ja nya | k kh g gh ṅ | c ch j jh ñ |
| ta tha da na | pa pha ba ma | ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ | t th d dh n |
| tsa tsha dza wa | zha za 'a ya | p ph b bh m | y r l v |
| ra la sha sa | ha a | ś ṣ s h | |

# INTRODUCTION

## ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

In the introduction to his groundbreaking publication, *The Nine Ways of Bon* (1967, p. 13), David Snellgrove rightly pointed out that Bonpos have incorporated all types of Tibetan religious practices within their framework, by accepting everything and refusing nothing since the emergence of Bon. [1]

> "The Bonpos merely pose the problem nicely for us by having arranged all types of Tibetan religious practice within the framework of their 'Nine Ways.' Regarded in this way, Bon might indeed claim to be the true religion of Tibet. Accepting everything, refusing nothing through the centuries, it is the one all-embracing form of Tibetan religion."

Despite the limited view of Bon that is held by some Tibetan Buddhist masters and even by some known scholars in Western academia, Snellgrove's description accurately summarizes the nature of the Bon tradition as it was up until the end of the last century. This observation is still valid in some cases, but this all-inclusive nature of Bon seems to be slowly fading away. This is due to ongoing attempts to categorize Tibetan religious elements as belonging to either the Buddhist or the Bon traditions. Many Tibetan Bonpos and their Western followers, particularly after Bon's expansion in the West over the last two decades, are trying harder than ever to claim that Bon religious practice existed in Tibet before the founding of Buddhism. Bonpos deny the fact that some elements of Buddhism were integrated into Bon and the study of Buddhist texts is discouraged in some Bonpo monasteries and communities.

[1] David Snellgrove's contributions to Bon studies are acknowledged by Bonpos as he opened up the opportunity for them to promote Bon in the West, especially when it was misunderstood and misinterpreted.

In this PhD dissertation, I will try to explain how the Bonpos accepted all of the religious practices[2] that were available in Tibet, whether from Buddhism or from other foreign traditions. I will explain that by investigating the emergence of the hagiography of Shenrab Miwo, who is considered to be the founder of Bon religion.[3] This PhD research project is part of a larger research program, "The Three Pillars of Bon: Doctrine, Location & Founder; Historiographical Strategies and their Contexts in Bon Religious Historical Literature." As outlined in the original proposal for this research program (see Blezer 2004), the overall aim is to understand the process of the formation of Bon religious identity in Tibet at the turn of the first millennium AD. In this dissertation, I have focused on one of the three pillars mentioned above, namely the construction of the life account of the founder of the Bon religion.

The process of constructing the life account of the founder of Bon as presented in the hagiographical literature dates from around the turn of the first millennium AD. The creation of the hagiography seems to have been triggered by the emergence of competing Buddhist sects, at a time when Tibetan Buddhism was undergoing a major renaissance. In later periods, these hagiographical narratives were perceived as authentic sources outlining the history of Bon. The Bon tradition developed extremely fast and within a century or two, it became an important rival of the Tibetan Buddhist sects that were by then already established. Tibetan Buddhist followers subsequently tried to question the authenticity of Bon doctrine, while Bonpos claimed that their religion (cf. Tib. *chos*, Skt. *dharma*) originated far before the birth of the historical Buddha.

[2] In Tibetan, 'religious' practice (Tib. *chos*/*bon*) is a wider term, which includes any activities carried out for the benefit of self or others, and in a formal sense those activities based on the manuals written by religious masters.

[3] In this dissertation, by the term 'Bon religion' I refer to organised Bon that we see emerge around the end of the first millennium AD.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There are many questions that may be asked about the religious tradition of Bon and its founder. Many things are still unclear, even after the publication of a number of books and articles on this issue. Most authors argue that already before the introduction of Tibetan Buddhism old ritual practices existed in Tibet that were called Bon, but a number of scholars also question whether that name is at all applicable to those old Tibetan ritual practices, which, as is well known, to some extent have been integrated into what later became known as Bon. Did these practices function as components of one individual religion as the Bonpos now claim? If yes, what was that individual religion? Was it known as 'Bon' or something else? Was it initiated by Shenrab Miwo? I must admit that most of these questions cannot easily be answered until we find hard evidence such as contemporaneous textual sources or archaeological artefacts. Given that the only resources currently available are semi-historical records that date from the turn of the first millennium AD, we cannot provide conclusive answers to these questions. Nevertheless, I shall try to answer the following key questions in this dissertation: Who was Shenrab Miwo and why is he considered to have been the founder of Bon? How did the hagiography of Shenrab Miwo emerge and how did this contribute toward the development of Bon?

To attempt to answer these questions, and to introduce the framework of my research, I would like to put forward several hypotheses for which I will present evidence in the following chapters. I hypothesize that Shenrab Miwo was not yet recognized as the founder of Bon during the Dunhuang period,[4] although he was

[4] The Dunhuang period was from approximately the 5th until the early 11th-century AD. It takes its name from a locality called Dunhuang in Central Asia, which possessed a library contained within a cave. The cave, which was discovered in the early 20th-century, contained thousands of manuscripts written in various languages. Stein (2003b, p. 591) has proposed that the cave was closed in 1035 AD, while Rong (2000, p. 274) argues that it was closed in 1002 AD. The documents discovered in the cave are now kept in various libraries and museums around the world. Some of these documents have been translated into several languages and some have also

known as an important religious figure as evidenced by references found in the Dunhuang Tibetan documents. Shenrab Miwo was designated as the founder of Bon only some time after the introduction of Buddhism, probably during the second spread of Buddhism in Tibet, starting the 10th–11th century AD, apparently in a bid to compete with the developing Buddhist movements in Tibet at the time. The choice of Shenrab Miwo as the founder of Bon was first canonized with the creation of the *mDo 'dus,* which is the oldest account of his life. As we will see later in this dissertation, the basic narrative patterns in the *mDo 'dus* are based on older prototypes found in the Tibetan Dunhuang documents, Tibetan translations of legends of the life of the Buddha, stories passed down through oral traditions, and other textual fragments that existed in Tibet at that time.

## SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

There are three complete accounts of the life of Shenrab Miwo available today: a short (*mDo 'dus*), a mid-length (*gZer mig*) and a long account (*gZi brjid*). The exact dates of the first two accounts are unknown, but we know that they already existed in the 12th century AD. These two are cited in the works of Bonpo scholars from that time, e.g. Tsultrim Palchen (1052–1106 AD), Meton Sherab Ozer (1058/1118 – 1132/1192 AD) and Paton Osal Gyaltsen (c. 11–12th century).[5]

There are considerable problems in dating the shortest and oldest account, the *mDo 'dus,* accurately. As I will discuss in chapter two, the information for dating the *mDo 'dus* is based on the assumption that it is categorically related to other Bon texts (i.e. the four great sūtras), which, apparently, are dateable to the late 11th century. There are many aspects of the *mDo 'dus* that suggest that it is considerably older than the *gZer mig*, the middle-length account of Shenrab Miwo. Since the *mDo 'dus* is the main text that I will be using for my comparative

been digitized. Two very important websites regarding these documents are: http://idp.bl.uk and http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp.

[5] See *infra* p. 32 (note 36) and p. 46.

analysis in this dissertation, my first task is to determine the approximate date that it was written. With an approximate date for the creation of the *mDo 'dus*, I can at least create a preliminary historical reference point for understanding the development and inclusion of its narratives.

The account of Shenrab's life as presented in the *mDo 'dus* has many similarities to the legend of the life of Śākyamuni. For example, Shenrab was also born into a royal family, had a luxurious upbringing, subdued the demon Māra with his miraculous powers, renounced his worldly life and became a monk, practiced austerity, achieved 'enlightenment' (Skt. *bodhi*) and gave religious teachings.

In this dissertation, narratives from the *mDo 'dus* will be compared to parallel narratives from the *rGya cher rol pa,* which is the Tibetan translation of the *Lalitavistara.* The *rGya cher rol pa* is one of the earliest accounts of the life of the Buddha available in Tibet. As I will show in chapter three, the *rGya cher rol pa* predates the discovery of the *mDo 'dus.* There are some other Buddhist sources that also contains narratives similar to those found in the *mDo 'dus,* and these will be examined here as well. As we will see in chapter four later, comparing these Buddhist narratives to the *mDo 'dus* not only reveals close resemblances, but also suggests that the *mDo 'dus* was derived from these Buddhist texts.

I will also discuss how the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* made use of narratives other than those found in the legend of the Buddha. For example, the *mDo 'dus* gives descriptions of four kings who are all closely related to Shenrab Miwo. These kings are the *hos* King Dangwa Yiring, the *dpo* King Barwe Dronmacan, the Kongpo King Karpo, and the magical King Kongtse. I have not found the names of the first two kings in old Tibetan documents, and therefore I am not certain as to whether the first two kings are historical figures. There are some references to *hos* in the Dunhuang Tibetan documents,[6] although these may not be fully relevant here. We know slightly more about the two latter figures from Dunhuang sources

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[6] See *infra* p. 100.

and early Tibetan inscriptions. Particularly, the magical king Kongtse is a Tibetan version of Kǒng zǐ (孔子, Confucius), the famous Chinese sage who is said to have lived around the 6th century BC. Karmay (1975a) equates Kongtse with Confucius, Lin (2007) partly agrees but argues for Kongtse being a Tibetan image of Confucius and Gurung (2009) demonstrates that the role of Kongtse in Bon sources is comparable to the role of Shenrab Miwo.

In the *mDo 'dus*, some personal names are also mentioned in relation to Shenrab, including the names of his parents, his ancestors and his siblings. As I will discuss in chapter six, these names seem to have been constructed or imported by the author(s) from older Tibetan sources, very much like the name Shenrab Miwo was imported from the Dunhuang documents (see chapter one).

## OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

In the first chapter, I will explain the Bon religion to some extent, specifically by reviewing the three well-known perspectives on Bon held by Western academic scholars. This chapter will be a stepping-stone to enter into a detailed investigation of the founder of Bon, Shenrab Miwo. I will look at the traditional accounts of Shenrab Miwo's life and review the studies of this subject by previous scholars. This will be followed by an overview of the key dates relating to his life as presented in both traditional and contemporary accounts. Then I will look at the name *gshen rab mi bo* found in the Dunhuang Tibetan documents and speculate as to why he was credited as the founder of Bon by later Bonpos.

The second chapter presents a textual history of the *mDo 'dus*. Based on all available evidence, I will attempt to determine the most plausible date for the creation of this crucial Bon source, which later became a model for other writings on the life of Shenrab. To find an approximate date, I will first study the colophon of the *mDo 'dus* and show what are the traditionally known beliefs about the origin of this text. This will be followed by a discussion of the discovery of the *mDo 'dus* and related texts, known as the four great sūtras. Thereupon, I will discuss

quotations and references to the *mDo 'dus* found in other Bon sources.

In the third chapter I will briefly introduce some legendary accounts of the life of the Buddha that may have been used to construct the hagiography of Shenrab, and discuss their history and origins.

The fourth chapter is the main portion of my research, in which I compare similarities between the accounts of Shenrab Miwo, 'the Buddha of the Bon religion' and the legends of Śākyamuni, 'the historical Buddha'. The comparative analysis in this chapter is carried out mainly between the *mDo 'dus* and the *rGya cher rol pa*, but also extends to the Jātaka stories. This reveals the parallels between the two stories and shows that many of the narratives in the *mDo 'dus* were most likely appropriated from these Buddhist sources. The parallel features include: both figures descend from heaven, the dreams and visions of their parents, their miraculous births, their education, travelling to teach, their ascetic lives, witnessing the four sights, their departure from home, becoming monks, practicing austerity, Māra performing magical tricks to hinder their practice, their attainment of 'enlightenment,' Māra's sceptical view of this accomplishment, and the episode of the tigress from the Jātaka stories.

The fifth chapter examines the family relationship between Shenrab Miwo and the four kings as presented in the *mDo 'dus*. Although not all of them were necessarily kings, the four kings that Bonpos remember as such are the King of *hos*, the King of *dpo*, the magical king Kongtse and the King of Kongpo. As we will see later, they are described as both fathers-in-law and patrons of Shenrab. The narrative accounts of the four kings are particularly interesting, because they reveal the process of constructing a life account of Shenrab Miwo that differs somewhat from the life story of Śākyamuni Buddha. These accounts also show how the range of Bon teachings attributed to Shenrab was extended. Since the crucial point of the relationships between Shenrab and the four kings seems to be to extend his family, I will discuss Shenrab's six marriages (to four princesses and two goddesses) and the birth of his ten children.

Next I will look at the many names that in the *mDo 'dus* are identified as belonging to Shenrab's ancestors or to members of his family and show that the mythical account could not have been successfully completed without these names. These names are also key elements to distinguish the story of Shenrab from that of the Buddha, so I will discuss how these names entered the *mDo 'dus*. I will also study some other early Bon sources where these names occur, albeit in a fragmented way, and discuss their possible origins. Many names were compiled from various parts to form one name, or one existing name was modified to form another. This information is itself sufficient to show how the *mDo 'dus* narratives were compiled from other Tibetan narratives available at that time.

# CHAPTER ONE
# THE FOUNDER OF BON SHENRAB MIWO

## BON AND YUNGDRUNG BON

The culture and history of Tibet have been heavily influenced by its religious traditions. Buddhism and Bon[7] are the two primary religions in Tibet. Since Tibetan Buddhism is divided into four major sects that have some degree of autonomy, Bon is known today as the fifth major religious sect in Tibet. Although many scholars considered Bon to be an entirely separate religion, Bon, in fact, has a lot of overlap and similarities with Buddhist traditions.

Buddhism was introduced in Tibet from India and rapidly developed since the 7th century AD. In the 8th century, Buddhism or *Chos* as it is known in Tibet (the Bonpos call it *dam pa'i chos*, meaning 'holy dharma') was recognized as the state religion. Tibetan Buddhists consider Buddhism to have been founded by the Buddha Śākyamuni, and similarly, the Bonpos consider Bon to have been initiated and founded by Shenrab Miwo. Both Tibetan Bonpos and Buddhist historians maintain that Bon existed in Tibet before Buddhism was introduced, but there is little evidence to support this claim. It is more likely that Bon emerged and developed alongside Tibetan Buddhist sects from around the 10th century AD. The earliest written Bon text that we presently know is the collection of the *Klu 'bum*, consisting of three volumes. The *Klu 'bum* contains descriptions of some of the activities of Shenrab, which are partly comparable to the activities of Shenrab recorded in Dunhuang Tibetan documents, and to accounts in Bon sources from later centuries. This collection is said to have been discovered in 913 AD by three Indian or Nepalese ācāryas (see Karmay 1977, p. 7).[8] Therefore, Bon as we now

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[7] In this dissertation, the term Bon, when it is not followed by any classifying term, is used as a noun. In other cases, e.g. Bon tradition, Bon text, Bon teaching and so on, it is used as an adjective. 'Bonpo' is used here for the followers of this tradition.

[8] Another *Klu 'bum* text was discovered later in 1017 AD by Shenchen Luga (see Martin 2001, p. 244).

know it started to emerge at the time of the *Klu 'bum*. This is the position that I will be arguing in this dissertation.

The Bonpo and Buddhist descriptions of the nature of the Bon tradition that existed in Tibet before the introduction of Buddhism are very different, which suggests that there are different motivations behind their claims. Tibetan Buddhist scholars, on the one hand, argue that the nature of Bon before the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet was mostly uncivilized, barbaric and heretical, and that the importation of Buddhism was necessary to change that (Sakya 1966, p. 48-49, p. 65, p. 167). On the other hand, Bonpo scholars argue that Bon religious practices, before the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet, were highly civilized, and its priests were close to taking control of political authority in the royal court by influencing the King Trisong Deutsen (8th century AD). They claim that it did not happen only because a couple of the King's ministers were against Bon and persuaded the King to reject it and embrace Buddhism instead.[9]

It has often been noted that many aspects of the indigenous ritual practices that existed in Tibet before the introduction of Buddhism can be found in Bon today. However, some of these ritual practices have also been incorporated into Tibetan Buddhism (cf. Stein 1972, pp. 240–41). While it is certain that these practices did not derive from Buddhism, it does not necessarily follow that these practices were *therefore* derived from early 'Bon' practices. Regardless of the claims made, and the motivations behind these claims, we cannot prove that Bon existed in Tibet before the introduction of Buddhism.

## THREE PERSPECTIVES ON BON

As Geoffrey Samuel (2005, p. 121) writes, until the 1950s, Western perspectives on Bon religion were derived entirely from the Buddhist sources. Until that time, particularly the presentations of Bon by some well-known Tibetan Buddhist lamas were taken as historical fact. There are many different perspectives on Bon that

[9] Cf. Khyungpo 1915, p. 50.

have been expressed by various scholars so far, but here I shall only discuss three of them which have been particularly influential: 1) Helmut Hoffmann's division of Bon into the 'old Bon' of animism-shamanism and the 'systematized Bon' of plagiarized Buddhism, 2) Samten Karmay's categorization of the original Bon and later Yungdrung Bon, which is different from that of Hoffmann's, and 3) Rolf Stein's argument that the religion called 'Bon' was only established as an organized religion from the 10th or 11th century onwards, despite being linked to the old ritual practices of Tibet.

## Helmut Hoffmann's 'old Bon' and 'systematized Bon'

Helmut Hoffmann (1961) divided Bon into two parts, 'old Bon' and 'systematized/organized Bon'. Old Bon mainly consisted of the ritual practices that existed in Tibet in the pre-Buddhist era, and continued until the emergence of present-day Bon at the turn of the first millennium. Systematized or organized Bon refers to the living tradition of Bon, which is known today as Yungdrung Bon. According to Hoffmann, the transition from 'old Bon' to 'new Bon' can be summarized in 'three stages'. The first stage, or 'old Bon', he categorizes as a primitive animist-shamanist popular religion. The second stage involved the gradual assimilation of Buddhist elements and the incorporation of Gnostic-Buddhist syncreticism from the land of Zhangzhung.[10] The third stage arose with the complete assimilation of Buddhist beliefs, after the collapse of the Zhangzhung dynasty, resulting in the modern Bon tradition (cf. Kvaerne 1972, pp. 28–29). As Per Kvaerne has pointed out, Hoffmann's interpretation of these three stages certainly derived from the religious history called *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* written by Thu'ukwan Lobzang Choekyi Nyima (1732–1802), although he made adjustments according to his own observations of Bon. Hoffmann's interpretation

[10] The land of Zhangzhung is believed to have been an independent kingdom that existed until the 7th-century AD. It was supposedly located in western parts of Tibet (cf. Beckwith 1987, pp. 16, 20, 43).

of Bon history, while hypothetical, is significant in that it points out that there was an intermediate period when the old practices of Tibet, whatever they were called then, were integrating or mixing with the newly arrived Buddhist religious practices, and that this must have taken place before Bon was systematized or fully developed as a religion.

## Samten Karmay's original Bon and Yungdrung Bon

Other pioneering Bon scholars like Kvaerne (1972) and Karmay (1983) [11] agree with Hoffmann's division of Bon into two parts, although they disagree with his description of the three-stage transition between them. In particular, Karmay argues that 'old Bon' was the original Bon religion, and that it existed from the Yarlung dynasty (ca. 7th–9th century AD) until the beginning of the second millennium. His argument is based on a few references to Bon in the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts (cf. Pelliot tibétain 972 and Pelliot tibétain 239/II). Like Hoffmann, Karmay also refers to later Bon as 'organized Bon', which he associates with what Tibetan Buddhists call 'transformed Bon' and Bonpos call Yungdrung Bon. However, Karmay further writes that the 'organized Bon' from the 11th century cannot be entirely dissociated from the original Bon that existed during the Yarlung royal period.

Karmay's hypothesis that later Bon, or Yungdrung Bon, is connected to the older indigenous practices of Tibet is plausible, although we do not have sufficient evidence to identify early indigenous practices as the original Bon practices. Not even the evidence that Karmay presented from the Dunhuang manuscripts is sufficient in this regard.[12] Therefore, we cannot argue, at least until we have

[11] I have read the English version of the article published in Karmay (1998, pp. 157-168).

[12] Karmay (1983; Reprint 1998, pp. 160-68) presents the following passages from the Dunhuang documents, along with his English translation, as evidence for the existence of Bon as a religion before 9th-century AD. Pelliot tibétain 972: "*mu stegs bon la yid ches ste/ …. mo bon dag la srid ma ltos/*" "Have faith in Bon, the 'non-Buddhist doctrine' …. Do not put your trust in the *mo bon.*" Pelliot tibétain 239: "*bon yas 'dod smrang/*" "The Bon religion is the archetypal myth of the rituals which require ritual objects of offering." Pelliot tibétain 1040: "*bon 'di gsang ba'i*

sufficient evidence, that any religion or practice called 'Bon' existed before the turn of the first millennium, even though the terms *bon* and *bon po* are found in the Dunhuang Tibetan documents.

## Rolf Stein's organized Bon as the Bon religion

Karmay's hypothesis bring us closer to the perspective of Rolf Stein, who argues that the religion called 'Bon,' although linked to the old practices of Tibet, was only established as 'organized Bon' from the 10th or 11th century onwards. As Stein (2003b, p. 587) argues, the collective old practices of Tibet did not have a specific name. He points out that the term *bon* or *bon po* seems to have been used to refer to a person who performs a specific ritual, and was not used, as it is today, to refer to a follower of the Bon religion.[13] Even some old Bon texts, such as the *mDo 'dus*, the *Klu 'bum nag po* and the *Srid rgyud kha byang chen mo*, still preserve this old meaning of the term *bon po*, as Stein observed. One may argue that the Tibetan term *bon po* originated etymologically by adding a nominal particle *po* to the term *bon* to designate a performer of *bon* practice. The term *bon po* is found in the Dunhuang Tibetan documents, and one may assume that a religion called *bon* existed at the time when these documents were written. However, as said above, we do not have any evidence to support the existence of *bon* as an organised religion (cf. Hoffmann 1961 and Karmay 1983) during the Dunhuang-period. Therefore it is probably correct to say that the name Bon for the later developed

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*bon*" "This Bon is the secret Bon." "Pelliot tibétain 1248: "*pa'i bu tsa bon rabs/*" "The account of Bon, entitled the son of the father." Both the occurances of *bon* in Pelliot tibétain 972 do not seem to be referring to 'old Bon', but to *bon po*. The references in Pelliot tibétain 239, Pelliot tibétain 1040 and Pelliot tibétain 1248 are all ambiguous. Therefore, this evidence is not sufficient to support the theory that the early indigenous practices should be categorized as 'old Bon' practices. For further discussion on these passages, I shall refer the reader to Blezer 2008, pp. 426-28.

[13] Following Stein, Blezer (2008, pp. 426-34) also argues for this thesis.

and organised religion is derived from the old Tibetan term *bon po*.[14]

When Buddhism was first introduced to Tibet there were no sectarian divisions. These divisions only began to develop around the 10th century AD as different masters with different teachings rose to prominence in the various regions of Tibet. Although these various Buddhist sectarian movements derived from Indian Buddhism, they adapted the Buddhist teachings to local practices and traditions. During this period, Bon also began to emerge and was formalized as a religious sect. Bon has adopted many of the characteristics of Buddhism, perhaps even more than it has adopted the indigenous practices of Tibet. Therefore, the present-day Bon may be viewed more or less as a hybrid of early Buddhism and indigenous Tibetan practices. The practice of appropriation is common in the development of Tibetan cultural practices and literary writings. Due to the adoption of indigenous Tibetan practices Bon was largely thought of, and categorized as, a form of 'shamanism.' However, some critical publications about Bon doctrinal, biographical and religious texts (see Snellgrove 1967, Karmay 1972, 1998, Kvaerne 2000, Martin 2001, Bjerken 2001[15], etc.) have changed this perception of Bon as a form of 'shamanism' to some extent.

## THE FOUNDER OF BON SHENRAB MIWO

Since the emergence of the Bon religion, its adherents have had to cope with issues relating to its lineage and founder. According to Bonpos, their religion was founded by a person called Shenrab Miwo. Traditionally, Shenrab Miwo is not only regarded as the founder of the Bon religion of Tibet, but also is considered to

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[14] I hypothesize that it was Buddhist masters who first used the term *bon* or *bon po* to deliniate a separate religious group and to exclude them from the Buddhist community. However, this seems to have provided the opportunity for the Bonpos to build a separate identity and to claim that their tradition was older than the Buddhist sects and that it was the native religion of Tibet. I cannot develop my arguments for this hypothesis any further in this dissertation, as it would require me to engage substantially new research (but I plan to address this in the future).

[15] Bjerken has meticulously discussed the tradition of labeling Bon a form of Shamanism in chapter two of his PhD dissertation (2001, see also revised version in Bjerken 2004).

be ‘an enlightened one’ (Tib. *sangs rgyas*, Skt. *buddha*) and is most frequently referred to as Tonpa (Tib. *ston pa*). Most Bonpos even believe that he lived some 18,000 years ago or at least long before the birth of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Bonpo scholars claim that Shenrab was born in the land called Olmo Lungring, which is said to be situated to the west of Tibet. However, careful study of Bon materials shows that the formatting of this belief basically reveals an attempt to transform the Bon myth[16] into a historical narrative that can compete with Buddhist narratives.

## Previous Studies on Shenrab Miwo

In the 18th century a Gelukpa lama called Thưukwan Lobzang Choekyi Nyima (1732–1802) wrote a history of Tibetan religion called *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*.[17] Part of this text was later translated by Sarat Chandra Das (Das 1881). According to this history, Shenrab was one of the eighteen teachers of Bon and he was born in Olmo Lungring in the land of Zhangzhung. He is believed to have possessed the ability to see into the future as well as other magical powers, and his magical teachings were later brought to different countries by many of his

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[16] I am aware that the myth is an involved, multifaceted and also much debated issue. That theoretical discussion should not detain us here. I also do not presume to be an expert on all the different applications of this term. However, for the sake of the reader of this dissertation, I shall state how I use the term here, in a rather specific way. In this dissertation, I chose to use the word ‘myth’ for a story that is not or not exactly historical, but that has a perceived historical value in the community that transmits the story. This should not be misunderstood at any cost with a false story or fairy tale, because this story, as said, is regarded as a true account by certain group of believers in Tibet, and it is also the origin of their religious identity. Since I am not certain about the existence of Shenrab Miwo, I consider his presumed life ‘account’ as it is narrated in the *mDo 'dus* and as it underpins Bon identity as a myth. In this way, I also distinguish Shenrab Miwo’s life ‘account’ from the presumed life ‘account’ of the Buddha, which following general custom, I here designate as a legend, because the religious figure about whom the ‘account’ is written can historically be more or less validated.

[17] Gene Smith (2001, p. 148) believes that the content of this history by Thưukwan Lobzang Choekyi Nyima (1732-1802) could have been heavily influenced by the political situation in Tibet at that time.

students. Thu'ukwan further writes of a thirteen-year-old boy from the *gshen* family who was captured by a demon for thirteen years, and during that period learned the art of seeing into the future and various other magical techniques. Although not explicitly, Thu'ukwan was obviously implying that this boy later became known as Shenrab Miwo. Das seems to follow Thu'ukwan's story that Shenrab obtained his precognitive abilities and magic powers from a demon during his teenage years. Since Das's translation of Thu'ukwan's work, this account of Shenrab has been quoted in many secondary writings (cf. Li 1948, Banerjee 1981 and Bansal 1994). We know that Das had very limited access to primary Bon sources. One of his main sources of information was a history of Bon written in around the 14th or 15th century that he edited and published in 1915 shortly before his death in 1917. It seems that Das did not have an opportunity to study and comment on the life of Shenrab as it was recorded in this text, but he did indicate a resemblance between the names *gshen rab* and Śākya, the Buddha, when he described the term *gshen rab* in his introduction to the edited volume (Khyungpo 1915, p. 1).

After the *gZer mig*, a middle length biography, was translated into English by A. H. Francke in several series of *Asia Major*, the Bon account of the life of Shenrab Miwo became widely available to Western scholars (see Francke 1924, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1930 and 1949). Although Francke's translation only goes up to chapter eight out of eighteen chapters in total, it has been highly valuable for the study of Bon. Hoffmann (1961) later summarized all eighteen chapters of the *gZer mig*.[18] Hoffmann studied the life of Shenrab in detail and seems to be the first Western scholar to compare the life of Shenrab (according to the *gZer mig*) to the legend of Śākyamuni Buddha and the legend of Padmasambhava. Hoffmann (1961, p. 85) writes that the 'twelve deeds' in the life of Shenrab are very similar to those found in the legend of the Buddha as recorded in the *Lalitavistara*. He concluded that the *gZer mig* was greatly influenced by the Buddha legend, and he even stated

[18] Hoffmann's main source for his study was the *gZer mig*, as the *mDo 'dus* then was not accessible outside Tibet.

that the Bonpos plagiarized the Buddhist work. The similarities between the life of Shenrab and the life of the Buddha have also been noted by Giuseppe Tucci, who wrote that Shenrab's biography faithfully follows the Buddha legend in many respects (Tucci 1980, p. 240). He also pointed out that there are aspects of Shenrab's story that are indigenous to the world of Bon, although they do not give us any further insight into Shenrab's personality. In general, he follows Hoffmann's theory very closely.

This same issue has been brought up by Snellgrove (1967, p. 8). He agreed with Hoffmann and Tucci that the inspiration and the framework for the account of Shenrab's life derived from the life of Śākyamuni, and that it was supplemented with indigenous Tibetan material. A little later, Snellgrove (1967, p. 13) rephrased this theory, strongly arguing that the life of Shenrab was deliberately fabricated.

> "It is generally agreed that the story of Shenrab's life is a deliberate fabrication, for which the inspiration was the life of Śākyamuni. *gshen rab* just means 'best of *gshen*.' But a study of the local traditions and legendary material from which the story has been pieced together would be a worth-while literary task."

He also implied that the name Shenrab is just a description of a title, 'the best or highest priest among *gshen* priests', and not a personal given name as maintained by the Bonpos.

Kvaerne (1972, p. 35) has also suggested that Shenrab Miwo was not a historical figure, but 'a religious hero'. He stated that the biography of Shenrab recorded in the *gZer mig* was partly copied from the legend of Padmasambhava and partly from conventional biographies of Śākyamuni. However, Kvaerne has reviewed his position with regard to the *gZer mig* being partly copied from the legend of Padmasambhava (Kvaerne 1979). This change seems to have been influenced by a study by Anne-Marie Blondeau (1971, pp. 34ff), who concludes

that the account of Shenrab recorded in the *gZer mig* influenced the account of Padmasambhava in the *bTsun mo bka' thang*. I will elaborate upon this in chapter five.

Karmay (1975) also discovered similarities between the life of Shenrab and Buddha Śākyamuni. He wrote that Shenrab Miwo occupies a position very similar to that of Śākyamuni, although there is no source available to establish Shenrab's historicity, the dates of his life, his racial origin, his activities or the authenticity of the enormous number of books either attributed directly to him or considered to be his word. Karmay further stated that the later Bonpo authors wove fact and legend together to construct Shenrab's life account. A similar view is presented by Dan Martin (2001, p. 33), who argues that the stories about Shenrab, as recorded in the *gZer mig* and the *gZi brjid,* seem to be compiled from various saintly and heroic legends taken from stories about Buddha Śākyamuni and Padmasambhava, as well as from themes from the story of Gesar and Rāmāyana literature.[19]

Most of these scholarly studies of Shenrab have been carried out using two biographical sources, the *gZer mig* and the *gZi brjid*. This is because the oldest account, the *mDo 'dus*, was not accessible outside Tibet until its publication in India in 1985. Although the basic themes of all three accounts are same, this oldest account contains stories that are to some extent different from the stories contained in the two sources mentioned above. In particular, when we take a closer look at the *mDo 'dus*, we find elements of the story that are similar to the legend of the Buddha, not only in terms of narrative motif, but also in terms of presentation and style. Some of these aspects of presentation and style are not found in the two latter accounts of Shenrab Miwo. I will discuss them in chapter four of this dissertation.

[19] Some scholars such as Namkhai Norbu (1996), Lhakpa Tsering (2003) and Dmitry Ermakov (2008) have also discussed the life of Shenrab, but their accounts merely represent traditional accounts and are not reviewed here.

## Dates of Shenrab Miwo's Life

Shenrab's life-span according to the *mDo 'dus* was eighty-two years. He is said to have lived for two years longer than the Buddha Śākyamuni who died at the age of eighty. A detailed comparison between these two figures will be presented in chapter four. Although the *mDo 'dus* recorded the life span of Shenrab to be eighty-two years, later Bonpo authors interpreted this as eighty two *gshen* years, and multiplied it by a hundred to make 8200 human years. Therefore, later Bonpos believed that Shenrab died at the age of 8200 years, which would mean he was born in the Palaeolithic period.

In the *mDo 'dus*, we only find three phrases relating to Shenrab's age. These are: *gshen lo brgya(d) cu*, 'when gshen [rab] was 80 years old'; *lo ni gnyis phyi shol btab*, 'postponed two years'; *da ni brgyad bcu rtsa gnyis lon* 'now having reached the age of eighty-two'. However, these phrases in no way justify the claim that Shenrab lived 8200 years and I have not found any Bon source written before the *mDo 'dus* that asserts that he lived that long. As mentioned above, later Bonpo authors calculated one *gshen* year to be equal to a hundred human years, presumably on the basis of the following passage found in the *mDo 'dus*.[20]

> "*mi lo brgya (alt. brgyad) dang gshen zhag gcig/*
> *zhag ni sum brgya drug cu lo/*"
> "Hundred (alt. eight) human years are equal to one day of gshen, [thus] 360 days make one year."

As quoted here, the *mDo 'dus* informs us about a calculation system, in which a hundred (or eight) ordinary years is to be understood as the same as one day of *gshen*, and one year (in both cases) requires 360 days to complete.[21] However,

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[20] See the *mDo 'dus*, p. 221 for this passage excerpted from the edition of the *mDo 'dus* published in the Bon *bKa' 'gyur*. For more details about three different versions of the *mDo 'dus*, see *infra* footnote 38.

[21] I am grateful to Dan Martin for pointing out this passage

there is no mention of one *gshen* year being equal to one hundred human years. As the term *gshen* had already been interpreted to mean a non-human or a celestial being by the time that this source was written (*mDo 'dus*, p. 4, 44, 37), the second passage stating that one hundred years equals one *gshen* day seems to be referring to the life span of a celestial being or 'an enlightened one'. Therefore, it would not be surprising if the author(s) of this source were familiar with the idea that celestial beings had a very long life, an idea that had already spread throughout Tibet by the time the *mDo 'dus* was written. It is likely that the Bonpo author was employing the term *gshen* to refer to 'a celestial being' or 'an enlightened one', as many Bon sources indicate that *gshen* is equivalent to 'the Buddha'.

There is an earlier Buddhist source called the *Pāyāsi-sutta* (chapter xxiii of the *Dīgha Nikāya*)[22] which may be one of the sources that have influenced this calculation system. There is a passage explaining the time difference in the heaven of the Thirty Three Gods (Skt. *trayastriṁśa*) and the human world. According to this Nikāya text, one hundred years for a human being is equal to one day in this heavenly realm. This matches the passage in the *mDo 'dus*, "one hundred human years is equal to one gshen day". I have not been able to determine whether or not there existed a Tibetan translation of this *Pāli Nikāya*, but it is apparent that the Bonpo author was aware of the calculation system through this text or other related Buddhist texts.[23]

Beyond the information given above, no specific dates for Shenrab's birth and death are mentioned in the *mDo 'dus*. In recent centuries, Bonpos have developed a chronological account of Shenrab's life. There are several different dates proposed for Shenrab's birth, although the date that is most widely accepted

[22] The *Dīgha Nikāya*, the collection of Long Discourses, is one of the five *Nikāyas* in the *Pāli Sutta Piṭaka*, and it consists of thirty-four suttas. See Walshe 1987.

[23] I have been informed by Professor Lubotsky that this calculation system existed in Vedic literature long before this time. I believe that there are also other sources that might have informed the Bonpo author regarding this calculation system, although I have not been able to present them here,

by traditional Bonpos is 16,017 BC. Needless to say, almost all the dates are based on traditional accounts of Sherab's life and on the assumption that the religion of Bon existed before the birth of the Buddha.

Furthermore, if we look at the chronological table by Nyima Tenzin (cf. Kvaerne 1971, p. 220ff.), it is easy to see that the years after Shenrab's death were also multiplied according to the '*gshen* versus human' system of time. Based on this calculation system, we might consider that the sons and disciples of Shenrab actually lived much longer than Shenrab himself, an average of nearly 120 *gshen* years, which is about 12,000 ordinary years. If these years are recalculated without using the '*gshen* versus human' system, we might end up with the dates of the birth and the death of Shenrab sometime near those of the Buddha. The point I shall suggest here is that later Bonpo author's dating of the life of Shenrab is probably based on information about the life of the Buddha, yet the dates were calculated using the '*gshen* versus human' system of time.

In the earliest known chronological table of Bon masters, compiled in 1804, a brief note on Shenrab's birth is given. The author Tsultrim Gyaltsen, who is popularly known among the Bonpos by his Sanskrit name Śīla Dhvaja, recorded the birth of Shenrab as having occurred around 20,995 BC (see Kvaerne 1990, pp. 160–61). He wrote,

> "22799 years have passed till now (i.e. 1804 AD) since [Shenrab] was born from the right arm pit of his mother in the year of wood-mouse, in the first month of spring, at the rising of the star *rgyal* [Skt. *puṣya*, one of the twenty-eight *nakṣatras*], on the fifteenth day of the month, at day break.

Tsultrim Gyaltsen further recorded that Shenrab died around 12,795 BC (see Kvaerne 1990, p. 162). I could not find out what source he used to calculate the

year of Shenrab's birth.[24] However, it is obvious that he estimated the year of Shenrab's death based on the calculation system of one hundred human years being equal to one *gshen* year. He wrote that one hundred days is equal to one *gshen* day, thus he calculated that one hundred human years is equal to one *gshen* year. Based on this system, he calculated that Shenrab lived a life of 8200 years. This resulted in his dating of Shenrab's death at around 12,795 BC.

In his chronological table from the late 19th century, Nyima Tenzin (1813–1875 AD) used a similar calculation system, but he recorded the birth of Shenrab as being nearly five thousand years later than the date recorded in by Tsultrim Gyaltsen in his chronological table. Yet again, without giving any reference to the source of his information, he estimated the birth of Shenrab to have been in 16,017 BC (Kvaerne 1971, pp. 220–21). Like Tsultrim Gyaltsen, he also believed that Shenrab's life span was 8200 years and that he died in 7818 BC. These dates for Shenrab's birth and death have been accepted by many Bonpo scholars, and are used to claim that the Bon religion has existed since ancient times. One of the reasons that these dates have been widely accepted could simply be due to the high position held by Nyima Tenzin as the abbot of Menri monastery, which has been considered to be the main seat of Bon since the 15th century. The abbots of Menri have played a significant role in the development of the Bon religion since the foundation of the monastery in the early 15th century, and have held authority over Bon religious groups all over Tibet. Their work is regarded as authoritative compared to the works of other Bonpos. Therefore, the Bonpos never question this date, although there is some disagreement about the month in which Shenrab was born, and the month in which he died.

Towards the end of the last century, Namkhai Norbu estimated the birth of Shenrab to be in 1917 BC (Norbu 1997, pp. 156-58. Cf. also Namkhai Norbu 1996, p. 69). Norbu argued against the traditional dates, provided above, by stating

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[24] He refered to a sūtra called *Dung lo ljon pa* (Kvaerne 1990, p. 154, 160). Cf. *rGyud dung lo ljon pa bdud rtsi sgrub pa spyad kyi mdo* in the *Bon bKa' 'gyur* volume 182.

that they are beyond what we can reasonably judge given our limited capacity to know history, but his estimated date also lacks evidence. He calculated the birth of Shenrab to be in 1917 BC, based on information from a 15th century Bon history by Khyungpo Lodoe Gyaltsen, titled *rGyal rabs bon gyi byung gnas*.[25]

> The chief [Shenrab] of the doctrine [Bon] was born in the Wood-mouse year. [He] lived a life of 3500 years and died in the Water-sheep year. Lishu was born after the death of teacher [Shenrab]. When he [Lishu] was 2500 years old in the Water-pig year, Trisong [Deutsen] began persecuting Bonpos.

Norbu calculated his date by considering all of these factors: the birth of Shenrab in the year of the wood-mouse, his death in the year of the wood-bird (probably his own calculation because it is different from the year mentioned in the above passage by Khyungpo Lodoe Gyaltsen), the birth of Lishu Tagring[26] and the persecution of Bonpos. He estimated that the persecution of Bonpos by the King Trisong Deutsen happened in 783 AD, which was the year of water pig as mentioned in the above passage. Without questioning Lishu's lifespan of 2500 years, he calculated back from the year of the persecution of Bonpos in 783 AD to determine that Lishu was born in 1717 BC. He estimated the birth of Shenrab to be two hundred years before the birth of Lishu Tagring by making astrological calculations based on the information that Shenrab was born in the year of the wood-mouse. Why he goes back two hundred years is not sufficiently explained. It therefore seems that Norbu calculated the birth years of both Shenrab Miwo and Lishu from the time of the persecution of the Bonpos by the King Trisong Deutsen in 783 AD.

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[25] Khyungpo 1915, p. 59: "*bstan pa'i gtso bo shing pho byi ba la sku 'khrungs/ mi lo sum stong lnga brgya bzhugs/ chu lug lo la gshegs/ ston pa 'das nas li shu 'khrungs/ des dgung lo nyis stong lnga brgya bzhes dus chu phag lo la khri srong gis bon bsnubs pa'i dbu zug go//*"

[26] According to the Bonpos, Lishu Tagring is said to have been active during the reign of the King Trisong Deutsen in the 8th-century AD.

In his argument, Norbu rejected the traditional claims that Shenrab lived a life of 8200 years or 3500 years, but he seems to have no problem with the other claim recorded in the Bon History by Khyungpo Lodoe Gyaltsen, which is also beyond reasonable judgement, that Lishu Tagring was 2500 years old when the King Trisong Deutsen persecuted Bonpos. Like the traditional claims, Norbu's argument is not supported by sufficient historical evidence. Norbu's dates have been accepted by a few scholars (Wangdue and Trinlay 2001, p. 27, and Lhakpa Tsering 2003, p. 50), however they have also failed to provide any evidence for these dates. They may agree with Norbu, because these dates take the development of Bon out of the Palaeolithic era, while still supporting the claim that Bon is older than Buddhism.

Dondup Lhagyal (Lhagyal 2000, p. 438) proposed another time frame for the life of Shenrab. He writes that Shenrab Miwo was a priest during the reign of King Drigum Tsenpo, who is traditionally believed to be the eighth king of early Tibet, reigning more than twenty generations before the Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo (d. 649). It seems that Lhagyal through this statement is trying to find a neutral ground between two different perspectives. Firstly, that Bon, as traditional scholars claim, existed before the founding of Tibetan Buddhism, and secondly, that Bon emerged on the basis of the theories and concepts of early Indian Buddhism.

Table: Different dates of Shenrab Miwo by Tibetan scholars

| Source | Born | Died | Lived |
|---|---|---|---|
| Khyungpo Lodoe Gyaltsen (15th century) | 16,017 BC (wood mouse) | 12,518 BC (?) (water sheep) | 3,500 years |
| Tsultrim Gyaltsen (written in 1804) | 20,995 BC (wood mouse) | 12,795 BC | 8200 years (82 *gshen* years) |
| Nyima Tenzin 1965a (late 19th century) | 16,017 BC (wood mouse) | 7,818 BC (water hare) | 8,199 years (82 *gshen* years) |
| Namkhai Norbu 1997 | 1917 BC (wood mouse) | 1835 BC (wood bird) | 82 years |

What is common in many of the above estimations is that they assume that the religion of Bon existed before Buddhism or at least before the founding of Tibetan Buddhism. Unfortunately, all of these dates are entirely speculative, built on assumptions derived from Bon sources written many centuries or even millennia after they claim that Shenrab lived. These dates are based on the view that Shenrab really did exist and that he taught the Bon religion. Since there is no historical evidence to support his existence, none of these dates can be taken as factual.

## References to *gshen rab myi bo* in Dunhuang documents

In Dunhuang Tibetan documents the name *gshen rab myi bo* appears in six different documents (altogether ten times), in legendary or mythic stories that pertain to ritual events from the 7th–11th century AD (cf. Karmay 1998, p. 111, Stein 2003b, pp. 598–600). This suggests that the name existed before the emergence of Bon and its founder. On almost all occasions, the name is listed among others who are all identified as priests performing funeral rituals. A detailed study of this name and its function has already been conducted by Stein (2003b). Here I will briefly present the relevant information from Stein's work. For a detailed discussion I refer the reader to Stein's article.

As recorded in Pelliot tibétain 1068, Shenrab Myiwo[27] together with Durshen Gyi Mada[28] and Shentsha Lungdra, were asked by Kyi Chugi Jonpa to cure his sister Kyinam Nyagchig.

> "The brother invited three priests: *pha* (father/priest) Shenrab Myiwo, Durshen Gyi Mada and Shentsha Lungdra and said to them, "My sister Kyinam Nyagchig was lying with her hair raised up and… What kind of

[27] I use a slightly different spelling here, i.e. Shenrab Myiwo, because this is how the name is given in Dunhuang documents.

[28] According to the *Srid rgyud kha byang chen mo* (p. 314), he was invited to perform the funeral ritual of Shenrab. He is called *srid pa'i bon po*, the title that is generally attached to Mucho Demdrug in Bon texts.

> rite do you have [that you can perform] and what sort of diagnosis pertains to the *bon (po)*?" *Pha* Durshen Mada, Shenrab Myiwo and Shentsha Lungdra replied, "the *bon (po)* has rites and the *gshen (po)* has diagnosis. If it is illness, she can be cured, but if she is dead then no cure is possible"."[29]

In Pelliot tibétain 1134 (lines 61–66), Shenrab Myiwo was again invited together with Durshen Mada and Karshen The'uzhug to perform a funerary ritual. In Pelliot tibétain 1136 (line 51–54), the father Tsang Hodei Hosdag (Tib. *rtsang ho de'i hos bdag*) and his son Mabon Zingkye consulted *pha* Shenrab Myiwo about someone's death. Pelliot tibétain 1194 (lines 5, 16–19) also contains passages in which Shenrab Myiwo and his companions, Durshen Mada and Galshen Tho'uyug (cf. Karshen The'uzhug), were consulted for a sheep sacrifice during funeral rituals. However, the details of this passage are not entirely clear to me. The text Pelliot tibétain 1289 (line v3.12) seems to be a recitation of ritual, in which Shenrab Myiwo is described as carrying a big flat bell (Tib. *gshang dril chen*) in his left hand and a feather (Tib. *gshog the ra ther bu*) in his right hand. In the IOL Tib J 731 (line r123–26), *pha* Shenrab Myiwo and Durshen Mada were again invited to perform a ritual.[30]

In the above passages, Shenrab Myiwo was mostly referred to as *pha* 'father', which is probably due to his position as the head priest. He was invited to perform rituals for the deceased and was consulted about issues such as illness and mortality. In the Dunhuang documents he is linked to two important aspects of Bon, the performance of *gto* ritual and medical diagnosis (Tib. *dpyad*), and he is also linked to these two activities in the *mDo 'dus*. Furthermore, the Dunhuang

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[29] Pelliot tibétain 1068, [line 87] "*mying po dral pos pha gshen rab myi bo dang dur shen gyi rma da* [88] *dang gshen tsha lung sgra gsum zhig gnyerde / lcham skyi nam nyag cig ni dbu skra* [89] *gnam du yer sro shig ni lhags gyis ma mchisna / pa la gthod ji mchis / bon* [90] *la / ga byad ci mchis shes bgyisna / pha dur gshen rma da dang gshen rab myi po dang gshen* [91] *tsha lung skra gsuM gyi mchid nas / bong la gthod mchis gshen la / dpyad mchis* [92] *gyis / na sde sos ba ni mchis / shisde ba ni ma mchis gyis /*" See Imaeda 2007, pp. 91-92.

[30] See Imaeda 2007, p. 147, 157-58, 248, 267.

description of the priest called Shenrab Myiwo carrying a flat bell is still relevant for Bon today. The flat bell is considered to be a typical religious symbol and an instrument of Bon. A flat bell is also said to have been carried by the priest called Dto mba Shi lo, the founder of Dongba Jiao, also known today as Moso Shamanism, which exists in south-eastern borderland of Tibet in Yunnan Province (Rock 1937).

## WHY SHENRAB MIWO, THE FOUNDER?

Many religious traditions around the world credit a most extraordinary figure,[31] whether historical or fictitious, as their founder. The choice of founder's name also sometimes determines the name of a particular religious tradition. This usually happens a long time after the traditions themselves have been established. Having a founder of a religious tradition is convenient not only to authenticate the tradition itself, but also to attract followers. Thus, the founder carries an important role in the promotion and the development of the tradition.

After the reintroduction of Buddhism in Tibet from late 10th century AD, it started to diverge to form the various branches of Tibetan Buddhism. Most of these branches also credit their most extraordinary figure as their founding figure (such as Padmasambhava, the Karmapa and Tsongkhapa). However, all of them acknowledge Śākyamuni Buddha as their original founder, because Śākyamuni Buddha was already indisputably acknowledged as the founder of Buddhism.

In the case of Bon, the situation was different. The Bonpos started to claim that their founder of was not Śākyamuni Buddha and that Bon was not introduced from the land where Tibetans then felt that Buddhism originated (i.e. India).[32] Tibetans, who followed 'Bon practices,' began to organize their religious tradition

[31] Cf. Freedman and McClymond (2001) in which several specialist authors have discussed in detail about five religious figures: Śākyamuni Buddha, Moses, Confucius, Jesus Christ and the Prophet Muhammad, considered the founders of, respectively, Buddhism, Judaism, Confucianism, Christianity and Islam.

[32] Cf. Khyungpo 1915, p. 10ff.

in contradistinction to Tibetan Buddhist sects, around the turn of the first millennium AD. In this situation, the Bonpos must have realized the importance of having a religious founder. To begin their quest for a founder, they seem to have made use of whatever oral or written stories were available to them at that time. Apart from Tibetan Buddhist legends and early Bon sources like the *Klu 'bum*, they possibly also had access to some fragmented early Tibetan sources or oral traditions, comparable to the narratives that appear in some Dunhuang Tibetan documents. It is apparent that the Bonpos have made use of these early Tibetan sources when determining the name of their founder.

As I have discussed in the previous section, the name of the founder of Bon, Shenrab Miwo, apparently is a reproduction of the name Shenrab Myiwo given in the mentioned Dunhuang documents. Why did Bonpos choose Shenrab Myiwo as their founder? There is no definitive answer to this question, as there is no textual evidence explaining this choice. However, I offer the following speculations based on available information. Firstly, the name Shenrab Myiwo carries a lot of meaning in itself. The word *rab* means the 'best' or the 'supreme,' while *mi bo* means 'the best man.' The origins of the Tibetan word *gshen* are not well known, but it seems to be referring to 'a priest' in most occurrences in the Dunhuang documents (Stein 2003b). Given this, the name, Shenrab Myiwo, can be translated as 'the supreme *gshen* priest, who is also 'the best man' as Snellgrove (1967) and Stein (2003b) suggested. According to the Dunhuang documents, there is another figure, Durshen Mada, who accompanied Shenrab Myiwo in performing many ritual activities. However, since the name Durshen Mada specifically indicates his position as a priest that performs funerary rituals, he might have been an unsuitable choice as the founder of Bon. This theory has already been developed in Blezer (2008, pp. 438–39) and therefore I refer the reader to the discussion there. Secondly, Shenrab Myiwo is referred to as 'the father' on many occasions as mentioned earlier. This may be taken to mean that he was chief among the priests of the ritual in general. An old Bon text, *Klu 'bum*, also

describes Shenrab Miwo as the head priest of the rituals. Thirdly, Shenrab Miwo seems to have been known in other traditions as well. In his PhD dissertation, Lhakpa Tsering (2003) pursued a comparative study between the founder of Bon, Tonpa Shenrab Miwo and the founder of the Dongba tradition, Dto mba Shi lo. As he suggested, it seems obvious that Tonpa Shenrab and Dto mba Shi lo are phonetically similar, although we cannot be certain about which name is the original one. He estimated that the Dongba tradition was founded during the Tang dynasty (618-906 AD). If his estimation is correct, then this could also explain why Bonpos considered Tonpa Shenrab to be their founder. It is possible that the life account of Shenrab Miwo as well as the traditions that developed into what we know today as the *mDo 'dus* also began to emerge around the Tang dynasty or little later.

# CHAPTER TWO
# THE *MDO 'DUS*

## INTRODUCTION

As previously mentioned, there are three complete life accounts of Shenrab, a short account (*mDo 'dus*), a mid-length (*gZer mig*) and a long account (*gZi brjid*), published in the collection of the Bon *bKa' 'gyur*;[33] not counting what appears to be a summary of the long account, which is available separately.[34] These accounts were identified as *mdo* (Skt. *sūtra*), and are included in the sūtra section of the Bon *bKa' 'gyur*.[35] Although these three accounts all tell the story of the life of Shenrab, their contents and literary style differ in many ways. In this chapter, I will mainly discuss the short account, the *mDo 'dus*, and try to solve the question of when it first appeared. However, prior to discussing the short account, I shall briefly introduce the other two accounts here in reverse order.

The longest account of Shenrab Miwo, the *gZi brjid*, consists of twelve volumes with sixty-one chapters. Traditionally, this work is considered to have been taught by Shenrab himself, and to have been orally transmitted through many Bonpo masters, up to Tulku Loden Nyingpo (b. 1360 AD), who is credited with transcribing it. Loden Nyingpo was a renowned Bonpo master and author, and was

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[33] Similar to the way that Tibetan Buddhists attribute the *bKa' 'gyur* to the Buddha, Bonpos attribute the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* to Shenrab. Karmay (1975; reprint 1998, p. 124) suggests that the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* was compiled around 1450 AD, although the classification of Bon *bKa' and bKa' brten* dates from the 11th-century AD. Since 1985, the collection of the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* has been published three times in three different editions (see Martin 2003, p. 2 and 784).

[34] This is the *Dri med rtsa mdo* by Loden Nyingpo (b. 1360 AD), which, as far as I have been able to check, appears to be a summary of the *gZi brjid*. Lhagyal (2002, p. 383-84) identifies this text as the fourth complete life account of Shenrab Miwo.

[35] The collection of Bon sūtras consists of works dealing with monastic discipline, cosmology and life accounts of Shenrab. The three accounts also share a part of the title, *'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud*, which suggests that these may also belong to the *rgyud* (Skt. *tantra*) section, although the tantra collection mainly contains esoteric teachings. For the categorisation of Bon sūtra and tantra see Karmay 1975 (reprint 1998, p. 126).

a master of the New Bon sect, which is closely connected with the Buddhist Nyingmapa tradition. Whatever the traditional account prior to the 14th century might have been, the text itself is certainly dateable from the late 14th century.

The middle-length account of Shenrab Miwo, the *gZer mig*, contains eighteen chapters in two volumes. This work came into existence somewhere around the late 11th to the early 12th century AD. I have found a passage from the *gZer mig* quoted in the *Khams chen po brgyad* commentary written by Tsultrim Palchen (1052–1106).[36] This commentary is the earliest source that I have discovered so far that proves that the *gZer mig* existed from that period. As Karmay (1975a; reprint 1998, p. 170) has discussed, passages from the *gZer mig* are also quoted by the Bonpo master Meton Sherab Ozer (1058–1132 or 1118–1192 AD) in his *'Dul ba kun las btus pa'i gzhung*.[37]

## THE SHORT ACCOUNT, THE *MDO 'DUS*

The short account of Shenrab Miwo, the *mDo 'dus*, contains twenty-four chapters in one volume.[38] Judging from the composition of its narratives, the *mDo 'dus*

[36] See Tsultrim Palchen 1998, pp. 159, 173, 216, 223, 228, 244, 262.

[37] Martin (2001, pp. 75-76) dates Meton Sherab Ozer to 1118-1192 AD.

[38] I have accessed three versions of the *mDo 'dus*, which differ somewhat in their content and spelling. I shall refer to the one published in the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* simply as the *mDo 'dus*. The version obtained by Samten Karmay, I shall refer to as the *mDo 'dus* Karmay, and the version obtained by Dondup Lhagyal I shall refer to as *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal. I am very grateful to Samten Karmay and Dondup Lhagyal for sharing the latter two copies as this has enabled me to compare three different versions. I am working on a critical edition of these three versions, which I will publish separately from this dissertation. The *mDo 'dus* first became accessible to scholars outside Tibet in 1985, when a copy of the first version was published in India by Khedup Gyatso. His copy is a reprint of the original copy preserved in the Khyungpo Ri Tsedrug monastery in Tibet. The current version that I use is also a reprint of the original and it was published in the collection of the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* from 1995 to 1999. A copy of the second version was obtained by Samten G. Karmay during his research mission in Tibet in 1985. Karmay assumes that the original copy belonged to Walkhyung (Tib. *dbal khyung*) monastery, as he found the title, *'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud sangs rgyas rnam thar*, in the list of Bon texts preserved in Walkhyung monastery in Nyagrong (cf. Karmay 1990; reprint 1998, p. 206). However, the title that appears

seems to be the oldest among the three complete life accounts of Shenrab Miwo. Furthermore, the passages in the *mDo 'dus*, compared to the other two, are less organized and less elaborate, which implies that the hagiography was a work in progress.

The *mDo 'dus* is not limited to the story of the then current incarnation of Shenrab, but also covers details of his past lives that are comparable to the Jātaka stories of the Buddha Śākyamuni, which I will discuss in chapter four. Most of the *mDo 'dus* narratives are presented in the style of a dialogue between Shenrab and his family members and attendants. Interestingly, some significant passages in the source contradict each other and are inconsistent. For instance, Shenrab is described on one occasion as 'the enlightened one' who is perfect and makes no mistakes. However, he is also reported to have made mistakes like any ordinary human being.[39] This description is not found in the other two accounts—probably omitted because it was considered inappropriate.

The passages regarding the life account of Shenrab Miwo from the *mDo 'dus*, which are less elaborate, inconsistent and more similar to the legends of the Buddha than the passages in the *gZer mig*, suggest that the *mDo 'dus* must be

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on the copy obtained by Karmay (see *mDo 'dus* Karmay) and the title given in the list of Bon texts preserved in Walkhyung monastery differ. This leaves open the question as to whether Karmay obtained a copy of the same text that appears in the list. A copy of the third version was obtained by Dondup Lhagyal in 1998, in Nagchukha in Tibet, from a Tibetan doctor named A-rgya. Lhagyal (2002) argues that the original must be at least 800 years old, as it contains many old spellings of words as seen in inscriptions and in Dunhuang documents. It is also written in a Tibetan script called *'bru tsha sgong zhabs ma*, which he claims was widely used during the Sakyapa rule in Tibet (mid 13th to the mid 14th-century) and which was rarely used thereafter. The latter two versions are unpublished. The original manuscripts of the version in the Bon *bKa' 'gyur* and the *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal are still in Tibet, but whereabouts of Karmay's *mDo 'dus* are still unknown.

[39] The *mDo 'dus* (pp. 107-109) uniquely records that Shenrab made four big mistakes, which caused him some misfortune. Shenrab accepted a relative who interfered in his business; he married a wife who betrayed him and ran away with another man; he accepted a student who stole his library; and he made a friend who stole his horses. I am grateful to Professor Samten Karmay for pointing out these interesting passages to me.

older than the latter life account of Shenrab, *gZer mig*. Although the available evidence (see *infra* p. 46) seems to show that both sources are equally dateable from the late 11th or 12th century onwards, the redaction, nature of the elaborations and other differences between these two sources (see, e.g., appendix 3.2) suggest a probable relative chronology. It recommends that the *mDo 'dus* should be dated before the 12th century and the *gZer mig* slightly later, and that the two sources thus are not from the exact same period. For this dissertation, I have selected the *mDo 'dus* as probably the oldest and primary source among the three complete life accounts of Shenrab Miwo. This choice is not only motivated by the more archaic-looking state of transmission of the *mDo 'dus*, but I also felt that it was important to work on this particular text because it has not yet received sufficient academic treatment.

The short account of the life of Shenrab Miwo, the *mDo 'dus*, has many resemblances to the legend of the Buddha as recorded in the *rGya cher rol pa*. Since most of the investigations in this dissertation involve comparing narratives from the *mDo 'dus* to the narratives from selected Buddhist sources, it is very important to establish when the *mDo 'dus* first appeared. To estimate the date of this work, I will first study its colophon to determine what is traditionally known about the origin of this text. Thereupon, I will look at narratives relating to the discovery of the *mDo 'dus* and will discuss the quotations from, and references to, the *mDo 'dus* found in other Bon sources.

## THE COLOPHON OF THE *MDO 'DUS*

As the first logical step, I shall look at the colophon of this particular text to discuss its possible date of writing. Two claims regarding the dating of the *mDo 'dus* can be found in the colophon. First, Bonpo scholars claim that the *mDo 'dus* consists of teachings of Shenrab Miwo and thus consider it to be more than several thousand years old. Second, the *mDo 'dus* was translated by an early Bonpo translator, *snya* Lishu Tagring, from the original, which was written in the

'divine language' or 'the language of the eternal god' (Tib. *g.yung drung lha'i skad*). Lishu Tagring is considered to be a contemporary of Vairocana, a well-known Tibetan Buddhist translator, who lived in the 8th century AD (Karmay 1972, p. 4 and 160). There are more than twenty Bon texts said to have been translated by Lishu Tagring.[40] Unfortunately, very little is known about his life from these texts. He is said to have translated the *mDo 'dus*, when he worked as a translator at the court of the King Trisong Detsen (8th century AD), and to have concealed it at the order of the king.

The first claim is not justifiable, because the existence of Shenrab Miwo and his role as the founder of Bon has not yet been proven. This attribution is obviously influenced by the belief that emerged from the 10th century AD onward, that the Bon religion existed long before Buddhism emerged, and was founded by Shenrab Miwo.

With regard to the second claim, a critical analysis of this assertion results in the following problems. Firstly, if we regard the *mDo 'dus* as a translation, the language of the original text is hard to identify. Secondly, the existence of Lishu Tagring has not been historically validated. Besides, there is no physical evidence to support the existence of any Bon text prior to the earliest discoveries in 913 AD.

Nevertheless, this claim that the *mDo 'dus* was translated by Lishu Tagring in the 8th century AD, could be based on historical fact. It corresponds to the time as well as the original language from which the *rGya cher rol pa*, the Tibetan version of the *Lalitavistara*, was translated by the Buddhists. The 'language of eternal god' or the 'divine language' (Tib. *lha'i skad*) is considered by the Bonpos

[40] Many of these texts are published in the *Bon bKa' 'gyur* (2nd edition), see volume 33, 40, 60, 100, 109, 145, 165, 170, and 190; and in the *Bon bKa' brten* volume 20, 23, 27, 44, 56, 86, 87, 91, 113, 122, 142, 189, 241, 242, and 269. Although the names of the translators recorded in the above texts are slightly different, I assume that they are to be identified as sNya Lishu Tagring, the translator of the *mDo '*dus. The name appears in these texts with the following spelling variances: snya Li shi stag ring, bsnya chen [Li shu stag ring], snyag chen Le shu stag ring, gnyen bon Li shu stag ring, gnyan Li shu stag ring, snyan chen Li shu, bla ma Li shu and just Li shu.

to be the source language of the *mDo 'dus*. In the same way, Sanskrit is considered by Buddhists to be their source language. Both Tibetan Buddhists and Bonpos refer to Sanskrit as the divine language (Tib. *lha'i skad*). Although there is little information in Bon sources concerning the 'divine language',[41] it is possible that the Bonpos were actually referring to Sanskrit. In the *mDo 'dus*, there are Sanskrit words such as *ratna* and *tantra*, which are identified as being words from the eternal divine language. This suggests that the *mDo 'dus* might well be a Bonpo translation of Buddhist legends that were written in the 'divine language' (Tib. *lha'i skad*), i.e. Sanskrit. Among the legends translated by the Bonpos could indeed be parts of the *Lalitavistara*, yet, due to many extant differences between the *mDo 'dus* and the *Lalitavistara*, we have no certainty regarding this.

It is conceivable that the belief that the *mDo 'dus was* originally written in the eternal divine language could have derived from part of its title, *g.Yung drung lha'i bon mdo* which means the 'eternal divine Bon teaching.' The term *lha* 'god' in the title is replaced on several occasions in the *mDo 'dus* with *dag pa* 'purity,' thus it is alternatively called pure Bon (Tib. *dag pa'i bon*). This alternation of the words *lha* and *dag pa* in the *mDo 'dus* seems to suggest that the Bonpos perceived the phrase *lha'i bon* 'divine Bon' to be equivalent to *dag pa'i bon* 'pure Bon.' Since the *mDo 'dus* was received as *g.Yung drung lha'i bon mdo* 'eternal divine Bon teaching,' the Bonpos may have assumed that the *mDo 'dus* was translated from the 'eternal divine language.'

## DISCOVERY OF THE *MDO 'DUS*

Since the traditional claims of dating the *mDo 'dus* to the 8th century or before are doubtful, I shall look at the story of the discovery of the *mDo 'dus*. To begin with, I shall discuss the discovery of the *mDo chen po bzhi*, 'the four great sūtras', because it is closely related to the discovery of the *mDo 'dus*. The four great sūtras according to the colophon of the *Chags 'jig mdo* are:

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[41] On a traditional account of the language of the eternal god, see Karmay 1972, pp. 16-17.

1. *Dus gsum ston pa 'byung khung*(s) *mdo* (short title: *'Byung khungs mdo*),
2. *sNod rten 'byung ba 'jig rten chags 'jig mdo* (short title: *Chags 'jig mdo*),
3. *Bla med go 'phang sgrub thabs kyi mdo* (short title: *sGrub thabs mdo*) and
4. *Srid pa khams gsum sems can skye 'chi mdo* (short title: *Khams gsum skye 'chi mdo*).

The existence of these four sūtras almost a thousand year ago is evident, as the list of the four sūtras is given in the colophons of the *Chags 'jig mdo* and the *sGrub thabs mdo*, in the colophons of the *gZer mig* and in the commentary to Bon Prajñāpāramitā written by *rme' u* Tsultrim Palchen (1052–1106).

In the *Chags 'jigs mdo*, it is recorded that these sūtras were translated into Tibetan (the original language from which they were translated is not identified) by *snya* Lishu Tagring and were offered to the King Trisong Deutsen (8th century AD). The King ordered these texts to be hidden in the red stūpa of the Samye temple. The author of the *Chags 'jigs mdo* does not provide the actual narrative of the discovery, but recommends consulting another text, *Le'u dang rtsis 'byung chen mo,* for a more detailed account (cf. *Chags 'jigs mdo*, p. 227). Unfortunately, this recommended source is not available to us today. Therefore, I shall turn to the colophon of the third sūtra, *sGrub thabs mdo*, for the remaining part of the story.

I utilize these two colophons to elaborate my discussion because they are both from the same collection, the four sūtras. Like the colophon of the *Chags 'jigs mdo*, the *sGrub thabs mdo* also informs us that the four sūtras were translated into Tibetan by Lishu Tagring, who offered them to the King Trisong Deutsen. Furthermore, the colophon of the *sGrub thabs mdo* states that they were hidden in the red stūpa of Samye temple, and that they later emerged from that stūpa in the year of the Iron-bird. Tre Gyagar Ratsa retrieved these texts and transmitted them to Phurpa Bar, a head priest from *dbus*, central Tibet. It is further stated that Towa Josay Shenrab Gyal later copied the original manuscripts, probably from the original that is said to have been in the custody of Phurpa Bar (cf. *sGrub thabs mdo*, p. 537). According to the colophons of some chapters listed in the *sGrub*

*thabs mdo*, there are several texts said to have been discovered in the red stūpa in the Samye Temple by Tre Gyagar Ratsa and Segu Rinchen (cf. Martin 2003, pp. 172–77).[42] These two people are identified in later sources as caretakers of Samye Temple, but there seems to be confusion among later Bonpos as to how they were identified as caretakers. As I will elaborate later in this chapter, these two names are probably constructed from the names of three *ācāryas*, namely Konchog Dragpa, Nyamo Gonpo and Seku Ratna.[43]

Partly following the colophons of the two of the four sūtras, Gaton Tsultrim Gyaltsen (13th–14th century)[44] wrote in his history of Bon treasures, the *gTer gyi kha byang*, that the four sūtras were discovered in the red stūpa of Samye temple. He described this discovery as Samye Catima, named after *ca ti*, a word that derived from Sanskrit *caitya* stūpa. According to Gaton, the discovery of the four sūtras is also known as the northern treasure of *dbu mchod* (his full name is *dbu mchod* Phurnagbar) from Samye (Tib. *bsam yas byang gter dbu mchod ma*).[45] Gaton writes that some scrolls emerged for the first time from behind the old bricks (Tib. *so phag gog pa*) of a red stūpa in Samye temple. When the scrolls turned out to be Bon texts, they were thrown into the fire. Because of this desacralizing act, thereafter, many unpleasant incidents followed. In the Iron-bird year, more scrolls emerged again, from the same place. The local people were afraid of the disasters that had occurred previously, and this time prevented the scrolls from being burnt. They were hidden again under the stūpa (cf. Tib. *lder*

[42] There is another story regarding the discovery of the four sūtras in the *gZer mig*, for which I refer the reader to my forthcoming article in the *PIATS* 2006.

[43] The three *ācāryas* (but here Nepalese *ācāryas*) are said to be the earliest group who went to Tibet and discovered, literally stole, some boxes from the Samye temple in the early 10th-century AD (913 AD, in Nyima Tenzin 1965a). For more details, see Karmay 1972, p. 118-20. The *brGyud rim* (Khoepung 1929, cf. Martin 2003, p. 53.) also informs us about the two *ācāryas* (Tib. *a tsa ra mi gnyis*) discovering the four sūtras, here including the *mDo ďus* as the first sūtra.

[44] He must have lived sometime in the 13th-century (see Gurung forthcoming *PIATS 2006*, also cf. Martin 2001, pp. 41, 99, 127 and 240.

[45] Gaton's text on this discovery is based on the colophon of the *sGrub thabs mdo*, p. 537.

*so/bzo*) in the Samye temple. Two caretakers of the temple, Tre Gyagar Ratsa and Segu Rinchen Dakpa, took the scrolls out of the stūpa for the third time forty-nine years after that incident. They loaded the treasure of scrolls on the backs of horses and mules, and left Samye that night. After crossing the land of Kongpo, they reached the south of Khams, where the two caretakers met Tirgyi Uton (also pronounced as Dirgyi Wuton), who was a student of Zhuye Legpo. They asked Tirgyi Uton whether he was interested in having the scrolls they had carried from Samye. Uton was not convinced and replied sceptically that there exists no treasure other than the discovery by Shenchen Luga (996–1035 AD). Thereupon, they traded the six boxes containing the scrolls for food with Sumpa Taton,[46] a student of Lhari Nyenpo from Gurzhog and *rgya* Trije (he was probably from China). To cut a long story short, Sumpa Taton later gave custody of these treasures to one of his patrons, from whom a priest-physician named *dbu mchod* Phurnag Bar (also called Phurpa Bar) obtained them (Gaton 2005, pp. 49–54).

A well-known Bonpo master from the 19th century, Nyima Tenzin (1965, p. 30), follows the story mentioned above in the *Chags 'jig mdo* and *sGrub thabs mdo*, and wrote that the four sūtras were discovered in the red stūpa of Samye temple, in the Iron-bird year. Among the three possibilities of the Iron-bird year between the late 10th to 11th century AD: 961, 1021 and 1081 AD,[47] Nyima Tenzin

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[46] As his name indicates, he was probably from the land of Sumpa. In Gaton's history, he is called *rta ston*, meaning 'horse master,' while in some other texts he is called, *lho ston* 'southern master', *rdo ston* 'stone/vajra master' and *gto ston* 'ritual master'. The word *ston* seems to be a particular type of title given to Tibetan scholar during the medieval period, although I am not certain how exactly this title was conferred upon the scholar. There is also a Buddhist scholar named *rta ston*, who lived in the early 12th century AD, recorded in Kozhul & Gyalwa (1992, p. 721).

[47] It is difficult to determine the Iron-bird year in the traditional Tibetan dating system, unless the number of the cycle is also clearly indicated. One complete cycle of the Tibetan lunar calendar consists of sixty years, called a *rab 'byung* (Skt. *prabhava*). Each year is calculated on the basis of the twelve animals and five elements, thus each cycle has one Iron-bird year. See Schuh 1973 for the cycles of sixty years and their equivalents in the western calender. In the second part of his book, Schuh provides a very detailed table of all the months and years since the first year of the first sixty year cycle (i.e. 1027 AD) until the 45th year of the sixteenth sixty year cycle (i.e. 1972

estimated the year to be 961 AD. Many scholars seem to agree with this date proposed by Nyima Tenzin.[48]

Lhagyal (2002, p. 388) more specifically argues that the discovery of the four sūtras took place in 1021 AD, so, sixty years later than 961 AD.[49] Lhagyal closely follows the story recorded in Gaton's history for his calculation[50] and argues that 961 AD is too early because of the following reasons. As recorded in Gaton's history, two caretakers first met a student of Zhuye Legpo and had a conversation with the student regarding the discovery of Shenchen Luga. As Lhagyal writes, there would be a chronological problem if we were to assume these events took place around 961 AD, the date in which the four sūtras were discovered according to Nyima Tenzin. First, the meeting of the two caretakers and Tirgyi Uton would not have been possible. Since Tirgyi Uton was a student of Zhuye Legpo (1002–1081 AD) when he received the treasures, the meeting could not have taken place before Zhuye's birth in 1002 AD.[51]

Second, as Lhagyal has pointed out, a conversation between the two caretakers and Tirgyi Uton regarding the discovery of Shenchen Luga (996–1035 AD) is not possible before the actual discovery took place in 1017 AD.[52] Therefore, 961 AD is too early for the discovery of the four sūtras. The next date

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AD, until January). Although two of the dates (equivalent to the Iron-bird year) given above are beyond the starting date of Schuh's table, using his table, we can calculate backward to determine these two dates. There is also a very interesting article by Svante Janson, titled Tibetan Calendar Mathematics, which is published on the server of the Department of Mathematics at Uppsala University (Janson 2007). He has also supplied a list of the cycles of sixty years and summaries of several different Tibetan calendar traditions.

[48] Cf. Karmay 1998 (p. 110, 207) and Mimaki 2000 (p. 89, 95, 97). Their discussions regarding the date also seem to be based on the Iron-bird year, when the four sūtras were discovered.

[49] Martin (2001, p. 45 and 1999, p. 263) and Kvaerne (2007, p. 84) also prefer to date the discovery with the early 11th-century AD.

[50] Lhagyal's main source for his discussion is the 15th-century history by Patsun (Patsun 1991), which follows closely to Gaton's history (Gaton 1998).

[51] For a biography of Zhuye Legpo, see Martin 2001, pp. 81-92. Also see Kvaerne 1971, p. 229 and Karmay 2003, p. 38.

[52] See Martin 2001 for a detailed study on the life and discovery of Shenchen Luga.

Lhagyal considered best is 1021 AD, sixty years later than the traditional date. However, this date is again unsuitable for the actual discovery, because it is too early for the meeting of two caretakers and Sumpa Taton, the student of Lhari Nyenpo. We know from the available sources that Lhari Nyenpo (also known as *rme ston* Lhari Nyenpo) was born in 1024 and died in 1091 AD (Nyima Tenzin 1965a, pp. 31-32).[53] Since Lhari Nyenpo was born in 1024, the aforementioned meeting between his student Sumpa Taton and the two caretakers would not have been possible soon after 1021 AD. One might assume that the actual meeting took place several years after the discovery, yet it would not have been possible for Lhari Nyenpo to teach his student until he was fully grown himself. Such a meeting could not have taken place at least before the mid 11th century. If we consider the Iron-bird year as the year that the two caretakers discovered the four sūtras, then the best option seems to be 1081 AD, instead of 1021 AD.

Nevertheless, I should like to propose another date, by examining the narrative that is uniquely recorded in the *gTer gyi kha byang* (Gaton 2005). According to the first part of the passage in this text, the scrolls emerged for the first time in the Iron-bird year, and then were hidden anew in the stūpa. The scrolls were then retrieved again forty-nine years later by two caretakers. Thus, it was not in the Iron-bird year when the actual discovery by the two caretakers took place according to this source, but forty-nine years later. If we add forty-nine years to 1081 AD, we get 1130 AD, which is in fact too late for the discovery and also for all the meetings that I have discussed above. In addition, a reference to the four sūtras does already appear in a work by rMe'u Tsultrim Palchen (1052–1106) as noted above. In this case, the actual date of the discovery was probably 1070 AD, forty-nine years after the Iron-bird year, i.e. 1021 AD. If Gaton is right, then I assume that the year 1070 AD seems to be the most suitable date for the discovery of the four great sūtras. However, this conclusion remains uncertain, as no source

[53] See also Kvaerne (1971, pp. 229-30) and Martin (2001, p. 69, 244).

earlier than Gaton's history refers to the gap of forty-nine years.[54]

As discussed above, we so far have two dates: 1070 AD and 1081 AD. Although I cannot determine which of the two dates is the most suitable, I can conclude that the four sūtras were discovered in the second half of the 11th century. But how is the date of the discovery of the four sūtras related to the date of the discovery of the *mDo 'dus*? In order to answer this question, I shall look at the first of the four sūtras, the so-called *'Byung khungs mdo*.

## THE FIRST SŪTRA, *'BYUNG KHUNGS MDO*

There is confusion among Bonpo scholars in terms of identifying the first of the four sūtras. Among the four great sūtras, only three are available to us under their actual titles. No text is available for the first sūtra, with the title *'Byung khungs mdo* and thus we cannot identify it conclusively. We can only infer what its contents are on the basis of references from early sources and from its title. The title explicitly indicates that the first sūtra contains accounts of the origin of the Bonpo Buddhas of the past, present and future. Bonpo scholars from later centuries either identified the *mDo 'dus* or the *gZer mig* as the first text, because these are the only two early sources containing such accounts.

I shall first discuss how early Bonpo authors identified that first sūtra, the *'Byung khungs mdo*. According to the *Chags 'jigs mdo*, the *'Byung khungs mdo* contains eighteen chapters in total, the contents of which correspond to the chapters in the *gZer mig,* while the *mDo 'dus* is not mentioned. This suggests that the *gZer mig* indeed is the first sūtra.

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[54] There is an interesting passage in the history by Kundrol Dakpa (1998, p. 306). Kundrol Dakpa has described the issue of the forty-nine years differently. He writes that two of the three ācāryas, Kondrag (Konchog Drakpa) and Serin (Segu Rinchen), returned to Lhasa forty-nine years after their first discovery in 913 AD. This time, the two discovered, six boxes in the red stūpa at Samye. This discovery of six boxes corresponds well with the story recorded in Gaton's history, and the resulting year, perhaps co-incidently, also is 961 AD (i.e. Iron-bird year). This confirms that Kundrol and Gaton were writing about the same collection.

The author of the *gZer mig* maintains that his text forms part of the first sūtra (*gZer mig*, pp. 810–11). But the *'Byung khungs mdo* includes more. According to the *gZer mig*, the first sūtra also contains a detailed account of the past and the future Buddhas of Bon, while the *gZer mig* depicts a detailed life of Shenrab. This suggests that the first sūtra was a source of the *gZer mig* and contains other materials that presently cannot be identified.[55]

Gaton (2005, p. 43), however, in his *gTer gyi kha byang* attributed the discovery of the *gZer mig* to Drangtsun, a monk from the Drangnga family, who is said to have discovered the Drangngama group of texts.[56] Yet, Gaton did not clearly specify that the first sūtra is the *mDo 'dus*. This nonetheless implicitly excludes the *gZer mig* from the list of the four sūtras and therefore also suggests that the *gZer mig* is not the *'Byung khungs mdo*, the first of the four sūtras. In this 13th-century text by Gaton, the position of the *mDo 'dus* as the first sūtra is merely implied.

The titles of the four sūtras are also found in an early 14th-century text, called *Srid rgyud kha byang chen mo*;[57] although they are not classified as the four sūtras. Unlike Gaton, who considered these texts to be the so-called Catima discovery, the author of the above text, Gyer Thokmay, maintained that they were the so-called Drangngama discovery. By describing the four sūtras as the Drangngama discovery, the author might have assumed the *gZer mig* to be the first sūtra. He did not provide any information about the existence of the *mDo 'dus*.

[55] This thesis has been developed in Blezer (2010, p. 15)

[56] For the list of Drangngama texts, see Gaton 2005, p. 44-46. This discovery is called Drangngama as it being discovered by the monk named Sermig from Drangnga family.

[57] This text is said to have been discovered by Gyer Thokmay (alias Khoepo Lodoe Thokmay, b. 1292) on the 15th of the first autumn month (i.e. generally the 6th or the 7th month) of the Iron-dog year, i.e. 1310 AD. Cf. Kvaerne (1975, p. 27, note 48) and Karmay (1972, p. 181, note 1) for the date.

Furthermore, I found a single reference to the *Byung khungs mdo* in the *bsGrags pa gling grags* (p. 14).[58] The other three sūtras are not mention in this source. According to this text, the first sūtra, the *Byung khungs mdo*, contains a detailed account of the lives of the thousand Buddhas and Shenrab's parents. Such a detailed account of the thousand Buddhas is neither recorded in the *mDo 'dus* nor in the *gZer mig*. This suggests that the *Byung khungs mdo* is a large collection of biographical accounts, perhaps separate from the *mDo 'dus* and the *gZer mig*.

In the 15th-century history of Bon,[59] Patsun Tengyal Zangpo quoted many passages from the *mDo 'dus*, which proves that this was an important source for his work. However, nowhere did he discuss the history of the *mDo 'dus*. Perhaps this is because he identifies the *mDo 'dus* as being the *Byung khungs mdo,* in which case it is not necessary to discuss it separately from the four sūtras. Following almost literally Gaton's *gTer gyi kha byang*, Patsun Tengyal Zangpo (Patsun 1991, pp. 232–34) has discussed the discovery of the four sūtras in great detail. Patsun seems to be the first historian who excluded the *gZer mig* explicitly from the four sūtras, while calling it Drangngama. When the *gZer mig* was not anymore identified as belonging to the four sūtras, the position of the *mDo 'dus* as the first sūtra became secured in Bonpo scholarship.

The position of the *mDo 'dus* among the four sūtras has been further discussed by Kundrol Dakpa (b. 1700 AD) and Nyima Tenzin (1813–1875 AD), who have provided details on the contents and the number of chapters that match the *mDo 'dus*. These two scholars listed the titles of the four sūtras in their catalogues of the Bon *bKa' 'gyur*, in which the first sūtra, the *Byung khungs mdo*, is identified as the *mDo 'dus*. According to Kundrol Dakpa's catalogue, composed

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[58] The date of this text, *bsGrags pa gling grags*, is uncertain, but it is likely to be between the 12th century (cf. Martin: 1997, p. 28) to 14th century AD. See also Blezer (2010, p. 21) for other options for a dating of this source.

[59] The exact year in which this history was written is unknown. There are two conflicting views. It is said to be written either in the year of the wood-mouse, i.e. 1444 AD according to the edition published in 1991 (Patsun 1991) or in the year of the wood-bird, i.e. 1405 or 1465 according to the edition published in 1972. See Martin 1997 (pp. 78-79) and 2003 (pp. 658-59).

in 1751 AD (Iron-sheep year), the four sūtras were discovered in the red stūpa at Samye by two Buddhist monks Seku[60] Rinchen and Dre rgya ra tsa (Kundrol 1993, pp. 102–4). Kundrol Dakpa not only informed us about the number of chapters, which matches exactly the number of chapters in the present version of the *mDo 'dus*, but also added few extra words like *mDo 'dus pa rin chen* in the title, which evidently is the partial title of the *mDo 'dus*, i.e. *mDo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud*. This modification of the title contributed to a radical turn in the history of the *mDo 'dus* and the *gZer mig*.

Likewise, Nyima Tenzin in his catalogue also specified that the first sūtra, the *'Byung khungs mdo*, is known as the *mDo 'dus* and contains twenty-four chapters.[61] He attributed this work to two ācāryas, whom Kundrol Dakpa called two Buddhist monks and who are said to be the revealers of the four sūtras. Nyima Tenzin also labelled this work as the short account of Shenrab's life (Tib. *mdzad mdo bsdus pa*), whereas he called the *gZer mig*, *mDzad mdo 'bring po*, 'the middle-length account.' Moreover, Nyima Tenzin argued in his catalogue against the claim that the *gZer mig* is the first of the four sūtras. He specified no source for his argument, yet it is obvious that he refers to some of the earlier sources that were discussed above. Following these two scholars, most contemporary Bonpo scholars regard the *mDo 'dus* as the first of the four sūtras, which were discovered in the red stūpa in Samye.

Now, if we consider the *mDo 'dus* to be the first of the four sūtras, as is traditionally claimed, then we may estimate the discovery of the *mDo 'dus* to be in the second half of the 11th century. However, all these datings are based on the traditional view that the *mDo 'dus* was discovered as one of the four sūtras, and this view can only be traced from the 13th to 14th century onwards. No contemporaneous evidence is available to establish that the *mDo 'dus* is one of the

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[60] In Kundrol Dakpa this is also spelled *pang ku* instead of *sad gu*, but this is probably a misinterpretation, as both the words are written almost identically in Tibetan *dbu med* script. .

[61] Nyima Tenzin 1965, p. 3, Kvaerne 1975, p. 99.

four sūtras. Yet, I do not rule out the possibility that this view could have originated before the 13th century.

## REFERENCES TO THE *MDO 'DUS*

The references to the *mDo 'dus* found in other sources support the view that the *mDo 'dus* did exist in the early centuries of the second millennium. Even though there are more than three different titles of the *mDo 'dus*, the common title for all of them is *mDo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud*. It is evident that early Bonpo authors took the first two words from this title to form its short title, *mDo 'dus,* by which it is known today. It is a common practice among Tibetan writers not to use the full title when referencing a work, but to use a short title instead. This is the reason why the full title cannot be found when the *mDo 'dus* is referenced in other sources. It is not yet certain when the Bonpos started to use this short title. It is a very laborious process to check all the Bon sources available from the 11th century onwards, just to find out whether this short title is used in any of them. Besides, it is difficult to gain access to many of the early Bon materials. I have read nearly two dozen Bon texts, mostly historical, biographical and commentaries of doctrinal texts, written by Bonpo scholars from the late 11th century onwards; but there may well be more texts, which have escaped my attention.

The earliest source I could find that provides the short title of the *mDo 'dus* is a 12th-century biography of Tsultrim Palchen (1052–1106), written by his student Paton Osal Gyaltsen (c. 11–12th century). In this source (Paton 1998, p. 10), the author not only provides the title of the *mDo 'dus*, but also the short title of the *gZer mig* (Paton 1998, p. 8, 13). This confirms the existence of these texts from that period and also that they were apparently known by their abbreviated titles. Apart from this, there is a quotation from the *mDo 'dus* in a text that is said to have been written by Shenton Namkha Gyaltsen (1088–1163; Shenton 2002, p. 51). However, there seems to be a problem regarding the date of Shenton's text. This text also contains a quote from a work by Gaton Tsultrim Gyaltsen (c. 13th

century) and Gaton's work obviously cannot be dated before the 12th century AD. This suggests that Shenton's text may indeed be from a later period, but for an unknown reason it has still been attributed to Shenton Namkha Gyaltsen (1088–1163). There is an almost identical work that is attributed to a student of Gaton Tsultrim Gyaltsen named Gyaltsen Chogleg (see Bon *bKa' brten* volume 82.1).

Furthermore, several other Bonpo scholars from the late 13th century onwards have reported the existence of the *mDo 'dus* in their works, such as in the *Srid rgyud kha byang chen mo* (p. 492), in the *Theg rim gyi rnam bshad gsal ba'i me long* (Gaton 1998, p. 20, 21, 25, 26, and 30),[62] and in the *rGyal rabs bon gyi byung gnas* (Khyungpo 1915, p. 2, 3, 7, 10, 19, 32, and 33). Some passages, probably from the *mDo 'dus*, are also found in the *rTsa rgyud nyi sgron* (p. 38ff)[63] and in the commentary of *Yang rtse klong chen* (Tagtsha 1973, pp. 4-16),[64] but their authors do not give its title.

## Two Caretakers or Three Ācāryas

Many Bonpo scholars assume that the two caretakers, who are also known as two *ācāryas* or two Buddhist monks,[65] are different from the three *ācāryas* who are known for discovering the earliest Bon texts in the early 10th century AD. However, this seems to be a result of how the Bonpos remember the same group

[62] Gaton informs us that the *mDo 'dus* contains 25 chapters (Gaton 1998, p. 26). Some passages from the *sGrub thabs mdo* and the *gZer mig* are also cited in this source.

[63] This text is mentioned in the *Srid rgyud kha byang chen mo* and may thus be datable before 1310. According to the colophon, Khyungpo Lodoe Gyaltsen was the fifth generation to receive transmission of this text. For a brief history of this text, see Karmay 1972, p. 173.

[64] This commentary has no colophon. From the list of names of those (Tagtsha 1973, p. 81-82) by whom the root text, the *Yangs rtse klong chen*, was transmitted, the author Tagtsha Lama Gyaltsen wrote that he received the transmission from Khyungpo Lodoe Gyaltsen. Thus, the author must have lived around the 15th-century. The root text was said to be discovered by *bzhod ston* Ngodub Dagbar in 1088 AD.

[65] In his catalogue of Bon *bKa' 'gyur*, Kungrol Dragpa identified the two caretakers as Buddhist monks while Nyima Tenzin identified them as two *ācāryas* in his Chronology (Nyima Tenzin 1965a).

of people in different contexts, and in different periods of time. As mentioned above, the two caretakers of the Samye Temple, Tregyal Ratsa and Segu Rinchen Dakpa, are remembered for the discovery of the four sūtras. These two names might actually have been constructed from the names of three *ācāryas*. Therefore, it is worth discussing to some extent the possible origins of the names of the two caretakers. In order to explain the manner of construction, I will compare the names of the two caretakers with the names of those three Nepalese *ācāryas*, and try to answer whether each name really belongs to one person, as presumed in the above-mentioned sources, or is it the collective name of three persons (e.g. the three ācāryas).

The name of the first caretaker Tregyal Ratsa (Tib. *tre rgyal ra tsa*) occurs with at least four different spellings: *tre rgya gar ra tsa* in the *sGrub thabs mdo* (p. 537), *tre rgyal ra tsa* in Gaton's *gTer gyi kha byang* (Gaton 2005, p. 50), *tri rgya ka ra dza* in Patsun's history (Patsun 1991, p. 233), and *dre rgya ra tsa* in Kundrol Dragpa's catalogue (Kundrol 1993, p. 102). Since the name *tre rgya gar ra tsa* that occurs in the *sGrub thabs mdo* is the earliest version of the first caretaker's name, I shall discuss this name, by examining its description more closely.

I shall separate this name into three parts: *tre*, *rgya gar* and *ra tsa*. The word *tre* could be read as Sanskrit *tri*, 'three', which is supported by Patsun's reading, mentioned above. The words *rgya gar* refer to India, and *ra tsa*, which is alternatively written *ra dza,* are versions of the Sanskrit word *rāja*, 'king'. Based on this reading, the name *tre rgya gar ra tsa* could be translated as 'three Indian kings.' However, the third word *ra tsa* does not seem applicable, because none of these names were associated with a king. Therefore, I shall propose another possibility for the last part of the name.

It is possible that the last word *ra tsa* is a scribal mistake for *a tsa ra* (Tibetan transcription of Skt. *ācārya*). If I may replace the *ra tsa* with *a tsa ra*, the correct spelling should thus be *tri rgya gar a tsa ra*, which means 'three Indian *ācārya*s.' Therefore, the name of the first caretaker, Tregyal Ratsa, is possibly

derived from a collective name of the three ācāryas. This suggests that this name does not really belong to one person, as is assumed in the later Bonpo sources.

The name of the second caretaker, Segu Rinchen Dakpa (Tib. *sad gu rin chen grags pa*), does belong to one person, but it is possibly derived from the name Seku Ratna (Tib. *sad ku ratna*), one of those three ācāryas. The word *sad ku* is interchangeable with *sad gu* in Tibetan (Gaton 2005, pp. 50–51). I could not figure out the etymology, meaning and the original linguistic background of the word *sad gu*.[66] Early Bonpo scholars probably left this word without translating it into Tibetan for the same reason. The second word, *ratna*, is a Sanskrit word and can be translated into Tibetan as *rin chen*. This suggests that Segu Rinchen Dakpa is no other than Seku Ratna, even though Bonpos usually identify them as two different persons.

## CONCLUSION

The *mDo 'dus* has many resemblances to the legend of the Buddha. This will be argued in detail in chapter four of this dissertation. To estimate the date of the creation of the *mDo 'dus*, I have looked at its colophon, narratives relating to its discovery, and extant quotations from, and references to, this text from other Bon sources. The colophon does not help us to settle the date, as it seems to be merely a traditional claim rather than a historical account. The first claim, its attribution to Shenrab Miwo, is not justifiable because even the historical existence of Shenrab yet remains to be proven. The second claim, that the *mDo 'dus* to was translated by *snya* Lishu Tagring from the language of the eternal god (Tib. *g.yung drung lha'i skad*), is also not convincing because of the following two reasons: the language of the original text is hard to identify and the existence of the translator has not been historically validated. Besides, there is no physical evidence that support the

[66] Cf. alternative reading *pang ku*, *supra*, in footnote 60. There is a possibility that this word *sad gu* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sad gu ru* 'a good teacher' omitting the last part *ru* in Tibetan, but this still requires further investigation. I am grateful to Jonathan Silk for pointing out this possibility.

existence of any Bon text prior to the early 10th century. However, in regard to the source language of the *mDo 'dus*, it is possible that the early Bonpos were actually referring to Sanskrit as the eternal divine language. It is also possible that the association of this eternal divine language with the *mDo 'dus* could have derived from a part of its title. Since the *mDo 'dus* was received as *g.Yung drung lha'i bon mdo* 'eternal divine Bon teaching,' the Bonpos may have assumed that the *mDo 'dus* was translated from the 'eternal divine language.'

Since the traditional claims of dating the *mDo 'dus* before 10th century are doubtful, I moved to the next option, of investigating the narrative of discovery of the *mDo 'dus*. The discovery of the *mDo 'dus* has become impossible to describe without mentioning the four sūtras and in particular identifying the first of the four sūtras. Based on the lists provided in early Bon texts, including two of these four sūtras, the *gZer mig*, and a Bon Prajñāpāramitā text, we know that as early as the 12th century the four sūtras were labelled together as one collection. These four are said to have been discovered by two caretakers in the red stūpa in the Samye temple, in the Iron-bird year.

Nyima Tenzin (1965, p. 3) estimated that year to be 961 AD, while Lhagyal argues for 1021 AD. However, there are chronological problems with some events described in Gaton's history, which makes these dates appear unacceptable to me. The meeting of the two caretakers and Tirgyi Uton would not have been possible before the latter's teacher Zhuye's birth in 1002 AD; the conversation about the discovery of Shenchen Luga (996–1035 AD) is not possible before the actual discovery took place in 1017 AD; and the second meeting of two caretakers and Sumpa Taton (student of Lhari Nyenpo, 1024–1091 AD) is impossible before the mid 11th century. Therefore, I propose the first possible date to be 1081 AD, the next Iron-bird year after 1021 AD. However, examining a unique passage in Gaton's history (Gaton 2005) — the actual discovery was not in the Iron-bird year, but forty-nine years later — we can determine another date, i.e. 1070 AD, by adding forty-nine years to 1021 AD. Since rMe'u Tsultrim Palchen (1052–1106)

has mentioned the four sūtras in his work, adding forty-nine years to 1081 AD, resulting in a date of 1130 AD, would be too late for the discovery of the sūtras. This leaves us with only two possible dates: 1070 AD or 1081 AD. Although, I could not establish which of these two dates is correct, in my opinion it is at least safe to conclude that the discovery of the four sūtras must have taken place in the second half of the 11th century.

No text is available today with the actual title *'Byung khungs mdo*, thus we cannot be sure what the first of the four sūtras really was. On the basis of its content and its title, Bonpo authors identified it either as the *mDo 'dus* or the *gZer mig*. The early sources either remain unclear about the existence of the *mDo 'dus*, or they identify the *gZer mig* as the first of the four sūtras. It was in the 13th-century text by Gaton that the *mDo 'dus* implicitly became secured among the four sūtras, although he did not confirm that the *mDo 'dus* was the first sūtra. This was made more explicit later by the 15th-century Bonpo historian Patsun, who discussed the discovery of the four sūtras in great detail, closely following Gaton. Patsun not only secured or confirmed the position of the *mDo 'dus* among the four sūtras, but he also influenced the understanding of the history of the *mDo 'dus* of later, 18th-century Bonpo scholars (such as, Kundrol Dakpa and Nyima Tenzin). Like Kundrol Dakpa and Nyima Tenzin, most contemporary Bonpo scholars also regard the *mDo 'dus* as the first of the four sūtras, the *'Byung khungs mdo*, and believe that it was discovered in the red stūpa in Samye, in the Iron-bird year.

If we consider the *mDo 'dus* to be the first of the four sūtras and also believe that the latter were discovered in the second half of the 11th century, then we should conclude that the *mDo 'dus* was also discovered in the second half of the 11th century — that is, I would argue, most likely 1070 or 1081 AD — in that red stūpa in Samye. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that passages from this source are already quoted in sources that date from the 12th century AD (cf. Paton 1998, Shenton 2002). By then it was already known by its short title, the *mDo 'dus*.

# CHAPTER THREE
# BUDDHIST LEGENDARY SOURCES

As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, the accounts of Shenrab Miwo in the *mDo 'dus* are largely derived from accounts of the life of the Buddha. There are numerous accounts of the Buddha, and many of them were also translated into Tibetan. I will introduce here three legends of the Buddha's life that were available in Tibet earlier than the *mDo 'dus* and are possible sources of the accounts of Shenrab Miwo, as they appear in the *mDo 'dus*. One of the earliest available legends is the *'Phags pa rgya cher rol pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (hereafter *rGya cher rol pa*), which is the Tibetan translation of the *Āryalalitavistaranāmamahāyānasūtram* (henceforth *Lalitavistara*). The other two Buddhist texts are: *sKyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud*, the Tibetan translation of the *Jātakamālā*, written by Āryaśūra, and the sūtra *mDzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo* (henceforth *mDzangs blun*).

Firstly, the *Lalitavistara* is a sūtra belonging to Mahāyāna Buddhism, as may be inferred from its title. Winternitz (1933, pp. 248–56) concluded that the *Lalitavistara* is a recasting of an old Hīnayāna text belonging to the Sarvāstivāda School, but enlarged and embellished in the spirit of Mahāyāna. According to Banerjee (1957, p. 247) and P. L. Vaidya (1958, p. ix), this sūtra belongs to Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtras[67]. Both scholars assume that parts of the *Lalitavistara* are based on some old accounts of the life of the Buddha. Vaidya (1958, p. ix) argues that parts of the *Lalitavistara* are based on old stories from 'orthodox' schools of Buddhism and stories from the *Avidūrenidāna* in the *Nidānakathā* of Buddhaghoṣa, which seems likely to me. Nakamura (1980, reprint 1989, p. 131) suggests that the *Lalitavistara* may be a compilation of fragmented biographies of the Buddha, and that the influence of Mahāyāna is evident in the literary style of this text. In any case, the Sanskrit original was already regarded as a Mahāyāna

[67] For the list of texts belonging to these sūtras, see Vaidya 1958, p. ix.

sūtra when it reached Tibet, and that is duly reflected in its Tibetan version, the *rGya cher rol pa*, and its classification as a Mahāyāna text, by Tibetans.

The date of the *Lalitavistara* is a debated issue. It is approximated on the basis of Chinese translations of legendary accounts of the Buddha that correspond to the *Lalitavistara*. Several Chinese translations of Buddha legends are known.[68] Vaidya (1958, pp. xi–xii) reports that the *Lalitavistara* was translated into Chinese in the 1st century AD, although he does not specify the exact year. He apparently determined this date on the basis of two Chinese translations of legendary accounts of the Buddha, Nanjio 159 (Taisho 187) and 160 (Taisho 186),[69] and particularly on the basis of the latter one, which according to Nanjio's Catalogue is dated in 68 AD.[70] Thus in Vaidya's view, its original obviously must be dated before that.

Mather (1987, p. 31) prefers to date the present Sanskrit version of the *Lalitavistara* from the 3rd century AD, although he provides no clear evidence for this date. However, since he refers to Vaidya (1958), he seems to follow an alternative date of Nanjio 160 (Taisho 186), i.e. 308 AD, supplied in Vaidya (1958, p. xi). Mather (1987, p. 32) explicitly writes that Nanjio 160 (Taisho 186) was translated in 308 AD. According to the Database of Chinese Buddhist texts, Nanjio 160 was translated by Dharmarakṣa (233–310 AD), sometime during the Western Jin Dynasty (西晉, 265–316 AD).

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[68] Mather (1987, p. 31-32) lists five Chinese translations (Taisho 184, 185, 186, 188 and 189).

[69] These two Chinese translations are catalogued in the Database of Chinese Buddhist texts, digitized by the Documentation and Information Center for Chinese Studies (DICCS), Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, and they are also numbered as Taisho 187 and 186 in volume 3 of the Chinese Tripitaka. Nakamura (1980, see note 17 in reprint 1989, p. 131) provides titles of two Chinese texts next to the *Lalitavistara*, *Fân-kwâṅ-tâ-kwâṅ-yen-ching* and *P'u-yao-ching*, and writes that these two texts correspond to the *Lalitavistara*. I am grateful to Ms. Ching Hsuan Mei for helping me to identify these two texts catalogued under Nanjio 159 (Taisho 187) and Nanjio 160 (Taisho 186) in the Database of Chinese Buddhist texts.

[70] This date assumed in Nanjio's Catalogue has been rejected by Winternitz (1933, p. 253, note. 3), as he argues that there is no proof for this text being translated in 68 AD. In fact, the earliest Chinese translation of Buddhist texts seemed to have begun only from the mid-2nd century AD (Nattier 2008, p. 3, pp. 35ff.).

Nakamura (1980, reprint 1989, p. 131) argues that the Nanjio 159 (Taisho 187) was actually translated by Divākara in 683 AD. He identified Divākara's Nanjio 159 as a translation of the Sanskrit version of the *Lalitavistara*, as Nanjio 159 contains twenty-seven chapters and they correspond to the twenty-seven chapters of the *Lalitavistara*.[71] If Nanjio 159 (Taisho 187) has to be dated to the 7th century AD, it is possible that, when the other Chinese translations of Buddha legends were prepared, there was not yet a Sanskrit version of the *Lalitavistara* that closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text that we have now. This shows that the legend of the Buddha that we know today as the *Lalitavistara* already existed at least when Divākara prepared his translation of Nanjio 159, in 683 AD.

When the present version of the *Lalitavistara* reached Tibet, it was translated into Tibetan through the collaboration of four Indian and Tibetan translators: namely Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Munivarman and Yeshe De.[72] It belongs to a group of Buddhist texts translated during the early translation period that ended around 836 AD. The Tibetan version, *rGya cher rol pa*, has twenty-seven chapters in total. It presents an account of the life of Buddha Śākyamuni, starting from his descent to earth from heaven until his teaching of the first sermon.[73] Unlike the *mDo 'dus*, the legend of the Buddha does not end with the final day of the Buddha, known as *parinirvāṇa*.

The first translation in a European language of the *rGya cher rol pa* is the French translation by Philippe Edouard Foucaux, published about one and half

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[71] I have also compared the titles of the twenty-seven chapters of the *Lalitavistara* with the twenty-seven chapters of Nanjio 159, and found that they are almost identical. This suggests that Nanjio 159 probably is an actual Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara*. I am indebted to Ms. Ching Hsuan Mei for helping me to compare the contents of these two texts.

[72] Martin 2006, p. 158. Yeshe De is also known as Yeshe Nyingpo De, Zhang Yeshe De and Nanam Yeshe De. Some of his other co-translators are Śīlendrabodhi, Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman and Buddhaprabhā, Viśuddhasiṁha, Vidyākarasiṁha, Jñānagarbha and Paltseg (a.k.a. Kawa Paltseg), who were also active in translation of Indian Buddhist texts (see Martin 2006, pp. 164, 172, 175, 178, 261, 278, etc.).

[73] For a short summary of all twenty-seven chapters, see Banerjee 1957, pp. 247-257 and even shorter in Vaidya 1958, pp. xii-xiii.

centuries ago. This French translation of the Sanskrit and Tibetan originals has been further translated into English by Gwendolyn Bays more than two decades ago. Gwendolyn Bays translation seems to be the first and only English translation of the *rGya cher rol pa*. As noted in the publisher's preface, this English translation has been made by comparing it word for word against the Tibetan version, and by occasionally consulting the Sanskrit original too. Due to its accuracy and its very close rendering of the original Tibetan version of the *rGya cher rol pa*, I decided to use this English translation in my comparison of the life of the Buddha and Shenrab. However, whenever necessary I shall implement a few minor changes when presenting the relevant passages. Therefore, I am fully responsible for any errors regarding the use of her translation.

Secondly, the *sKyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* was translated by Vidyākarasiṁha and Mañjuśrīvarman (Tib. *'jam dpal go cha*), who lived around the 9th century AD.[74] Nakamura (1980, reprint 1989, p. 136) and Winternitz 1933, pp. 273–76) have discussed the *Jātakamālā* at some length, and I refer the reader to their works. I will briefly present a few important points here. Winternitz reports that the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra closely resembles the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* in its style. Interestingly, he also reports that the first story of this *Jātakamālā* is not found in the Pāli collection of Jātaka stories. The Tibetan translation can be found in volume Hu (pp. 2–269) of the Derge Tanjur, made from the wood-block prints of the Tibetan Buddhist canon prepared at Derge Printing Press in Tibet, in the 18th century AD.[75] This text contains thirty-four short stories about the many lives of the Buddha before his birth as Śākyamuni.

Thirdly, the sūtra *mDzangs blun* contains a collection of legendary accounts of the Buddha. The complete text can be found in volume A (cf. overall volume no.

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[74] This is the earlier translation. According to Martin (2006, p. 486), the *Jātakamālā* was translated again by Lodoe Gyaltsen (1294-1376 AD) and Lodoe Palzang (1299-1353/4 AD) at the order of their teacher Panglo Lodoe Tenpa (1276-1342 AD).

[75] A brief history of this printing press and its current situation is written in the introduction of *sDe dge par shing dkar chag*.

74, pp. 257–595) in the sūtra section (Tib. *mdo sde*) in the Derge Kanjur. It is said to be translated into Tibetan from a Chinese version by *'gos* Chodrub (ca. 830–860 AD).[76] According to Nakamura, the Sanskrit original is lost, but he supplies the possible Sanskrit title as *Damamūkanidānasūtra*.[77] However, it is not entirely clear if there ever was any original Sanskrit text and that is probably the reason why no Sanskrit title appears in this Tibetan translation.

The *rGya cher rol pa* was one of the first sources of the Buddha's life that was translated into Tibetan and is considered to be a Mahāyāna text. Its Sanskrit original, the *Lalitavistara* sūtra, was already regarded as a Mahāyāna text when it reached Tibet, although, earlier, it may have been enlarged and embellished from the Sarvāstivāda literature. This also influenced the classification of the *rGya cher rol pa* as a Mahāyāna text among the Tibetans. The date when the *Lalitavistara* was written is uncertain, and scholars have approximated its date variously, on the basis of the Chinese texts corresponding to this sūtra. However, on the basis of Divākara's Chinese translation of legendary accounts of the Buddha, we may conclude that the present version of the *Lalitavistara* was known form at least before 683 AD.

The Sanskrit original was translated into Tibetan during the early translation period of Buddhist canon, which ended around 836 AD. Around the same time, the other two legendary accounts of the Buddha, *sKyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* (*Jātakamālā*) and the sūtra *mDzangs blun*, were also translated into Tibetan. The latter is from the Chinese version, as the Sanskrit original has been lost. Since these three Buddhist legendary sources were translated into Tibetan before the 10th century AD, they evidently are earlier than the *mDo 'dus*. Therefore, in principle, it is possible that the early Bonpos had access to these translations and utilized them to compose the life accounts of Shenrab Miwo.

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[76] Cf. Martin 2006, p. 201 and 672.

[77] Cf. Nakamura (1980, reprint 1989, p. 141) and also see Strong 2004, p. 57.

# CHAPTER FOUR
# A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LIFE OF SHENRAB MIWO AND ŚĀKYAMUNI BUDDHA

## INTRODUCTION

Shenrab Miwo is the mythical founder of the Bon religion. What follows is a comparison between the life stories of Shenrab and Śākyamuni, from a Mahāyāna perspective. This reveals many parallels between the two stories and shows that numerous narratives in the *mDo 'dus* most likely were appropriated from Buddhist sources. My comparison will be based primarily on the *mDo 'dus*[78] and the *rGya cher rol pa*, the Tibetan translation of the *Lalitavistara*. Occasionally, the comparison will also be extended to the *sKyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* and the *mDzangs blun*, and on other earlier Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts containing the stories of the Buddha's past lives. The *rGya cher rol pa* is a well-known Mahāyāna account of the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni in Tibet. It is known that this text was available in Tibet before the emergence of the earliest known Bon texts. It is highly likely that the early Bonpo authors had access to this text when creating the account of Shenrab.

My analysis is divided into three main sections: Shenrab's early life, his life as an ascetic, and his later life. The first section includes his descent from heaven, the dreams and the visions of his parents, his miraculous birth, his education, and his journey to teach in other continents. In the second section, I shall look at the similarities between the ascetic lives of Shenrab and Śākyamuni, in relation to the following: the four sights, their departure from home, becoming monks, practicing austerity and Māra Khyapa Lagring and his family performing magical tricks to hinder their practice. I will also dwell on the episode of five tigers in the *mDo 'dus* and compare that with other relevant Buddhist sources. In the third section I shall

[78] The complete account of Shenrab Miwo's life is recorded in chapters eight to twenty-four; the remaining chapters provide supplementary materials.

look at similarities in the later parts of the lives of Shenrab and the Buddha, including their attainment of 'enlightenment' and Māra's sceptical views of this accomplishment.

## THE EARLY LIFE

### Descent from Heaven

As in Mahāyāna Buddhism, in Bon it is also believed that there are multiple teachers who have descended, or will descend to the earth to teach. Shenrab and the Buddha Śākyamuni were teaching in a heavenly realm before teaching on earth. According to the *mDo 'dus* there were ten brothers[79] in a heavenly realm called Sipa Gungsang.[80] They were the sons of the divine King Triöd and a divine lady (Tib. *gsas za*) named Kunshema. The first nine brothers[81] were known as Tonpa (Tib. *ston pa*). In Tibetan, the word Tonpa specifically refers to the founding fathers-cum-teachers. For instance, Tibetans refer to the Buddha as the Tonpa of Buddhism (Tib. *nang pa'i ston pa*) and Shenrab Miwo as the Tonpa of Bon (Tib. *bon gyi ston pa*). For Bonpos, Shenrab Miwo is the eighth among ten brothers, and he is the eighth Tonpa of Bon as well as the Tonpa of the present aeon. The seven elder brothers were Tonpas of the past aeons and the ninth one is the Tonpa of the future. All the nine brothers, including Shenrab, descended or will descend from heaven to guide the people of this world towards total freedom from suffering. Traditionally, Bonpos believe that these are 'enlightened ones'[82] who

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[79] The ten brothers in the *mDo 'dus* (pp. 32-33, p. 38ff) are: Nangwa (Rangjung Thugjechen), Gewa (Khorwa Kundren), Kunshe (Nyonmong Dugseg), Legpa (Tseme Thugjechen), Nyompa (Thamche Khyenzig), Jampa (Kunshe Thangpo), Dagpa (Togyal Yekhyen), Salwa (Tonpa Shenrab Miwo), Shepa (Yene Sibuchung).

[80] This is probably the first of the five Pure Abodes (Skt. *Śuddhāvāsa*) in the Form Realm (Skt. *Rūpadhātu*) called Miche Sipa Gungsang (Skt. *Avṛha*) according to Bon and Buddhist cosmology (cf. Mimaki 2000, p. 93).

[81] These nine brothers are not to be confused with the nine brothers of Shenrab in his present life (see *mDo 'dus*, pp. 41-42). More discussion on the latter is supplied in chapter five.

[82] Both Tibetan Bonpos and Buddhists similarly describe that 'the state of the enlightenment' is completed when one obtains universal knowledge and passes beyond all suffering.

took rebirth in this world one last time to demonstrate the path to 'enlightenment.' They were each appointed this task by their predecessor. The tenth and the youngest brother was called Dulshugchen (Tib. *rdul shug can*, cf. *brtul zhugs can*) who was later reborn as Māra Khyapa Lagring, who challenged and tried to hinder Shenrab's ascetic practices. I will come back to this later.

Each of the nine teachers taught the next brother, with each younger brother then succeeding his elder. It is said that each of Shenrab's seven elder brothers completed their assignments. Shenrab's immediate predecessor, the seventh brother Togyal Yekhyen,[83] descended to earth as the saviour of all beings. When he completed his teachings, he appointed his younger brother Salwa Chime Tsukphu to be his successor. When Salwa was reborn, he was given the name Shenrab Miwo. Shenrab was instructed by his elder brother to be born to the most respectable family, in the most civilized place and at the most suitable time.[84] The most civilized place to be born was in the Barpo Sogye palace, on the nine-stacked swastika mountain, in the city of Olmo Lung on Jambu Island. The most respectable caste to be born into was the royal caste, to his parents Gyalbön Thökar and Yöchi Gyalzhema. The most suitable time to be born was when people lived an average life of one hundred years.[85]

The theory of the nine teachers owes a great deal to the Mahāyāna interpretation of multi-Buddhas. This interpretation also seems to have originated from earlier Buddhism (cf. *Mahāpadānasuttanta*, fourteenth chapter in the Pāli Dīgha-Nikāya). As Mahāyāna Buddhism was already at its peak when it reached the land of Tibet, it is likely that most of the Buddhist teachings that reached Tibet

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[83] The name is also found in a Bon ritual text *gTo nag mgo gsum* as the initiator of the ritual. Cf. Gurung 2009, pp. 268-69.

[84] According to Tibetan Bonpos, after achieving Buddhahood one can accomplish anything one wishes for. Based on this concept, Shenrab can choose the place and time of his birth.

[85] According to a Bon cosmological text, *mDzod sgra 'grel*, all human beings used to live longer than a hundred years. Due to falling moral standards, the human life span has decreased over time from 10.000 to 1.000 to 500, to 100 and will further decrease to 10 years. When Shenrab was born, it was the time that people lived an average of 100 years.

came from the Mahāyāna tradition. The theory of multiple Buddhas is similar to the theory of multiple teachers found in Bon texts. In the *Lalitavistara* (Bays 1983, p. 10), there are three immediate Buddhas of the past and there are six in the *Mahāpadānasuttanta*,[86] who taught the people of this world before Śākyamuni. The three Buddhas are Krakucchanda (Tib. *'khor ba 'jig*), Kanakamuni (Tib. *gser thub*) and Kāśyapa (Tib. *'od srung*). Śākyamuni is the Buddha of the present aeon and Maitreya (Tib. *byams pa*) will be the Buddha of the future.

When Shenrab left his heavenly abode to teach in the human world, he appointed his younger brother Shepa to teach in the heavenly realm, in his place. He prophesied, in the same way as his predecessor did, that this younger brother would some time become his successor in the human world. For this reason Shepa is considered to be the future 'Tonpa' of Bon, which is comparable to the Buddhist concept of the Bodhisattva Maitreya becoming the future Buddha. Let me illustrate this with a passage from the *mDo 'dus* (p. 52).

> Chime Tsukphu[87] gave his crown [in turn] to his younger brother Shepa and said "You, the younger brother shall become the teacher to guide gods in my place. After I complete my three teachings on the Jambu Island, you,

[86] I am grateful to Vincent Tournier for sharing this information with me. There are seven Buddhas including Śākyamuni according to the *Mahāpadānasuttanta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* ch. xiv, Walshe 1987, pp. 199-201). Detailed descriptions of the Buddhas and the life span of the people during their time on Earth are also similar to the descriptions of the Buddhas of Bon in the *mDo 'dus* (see comparative table in appendix 1). The future Buddha Maitreya (or Metteyya) is mentioned elsewhere in the *Cakkavattisīhanādasutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* ch. xxvi, Walshe 1987, p. 403). A similar description of people's life-span decreasing, as I have noted above (see the previous footnote) from a Bon cosmogonical text, is also found in this chapter of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. Although there seems to be no Tibetan translation of these texts, I do not rule out the possibility of these texts as one of the sources for the Bonpos. In fact, there are few other chapters of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (or its Sanskrit version *Dīrghāgama*) that were translated into Tibetan (cf. Martin 2006, p. 105, and *dBa' bzhed*, f. 24v: "*nyan thos kyi mdo sde lung ring po dang gang po rtogs pa nyung ngu zhig bsgyur/*" in Wangdu & Diemberger 2000).

[87] All three versions of the *mDo 'dus* contain Drime Tsukphu in place of Chime Tsukphu. However, since the name Chime Tsukphu is more commonly used in other Bon sources, I also use this here to reduce any confusion that may occur by using different names.

> Shepa Yene Sibuchung, will guide [the human world] when the people's life expectancy is only ten years."[88]

In this paragraph, it is clearly explained that Shenrab, in his previous life before he came down to teach in the human world, taught in a heavenly realm. The idea that Śākyamuni, in his previous life when he was still a bodhisattva, before descending to earth, taught in a heavenly realm, is evident from the following passage (*rGya cher rol pa*, p. 47; Bays 1983, p. 71).

> After the Bodhisattva [to be born as Śākyamuni] had instructed the great assembly of gods with this discourse on the Dharma …, he spoke again: "Friends, I shall go now into the land of Jambu …." At this the Devaputras of Tuṣita wept. Embracing the feet of the Bodhisattva, they implored him: "Noble Being, if you leave, this Tuṣita realm will lose all its glory!" In response, the Bodhisattva replied, "Bodhisattva Maitreya will teach you the Dharma." He placed the diadem from his own head upon the head of the Bodhisattva Maitreya and said: "Noble Being, after me you will become the perfect and completely enlightened Buddha."

In Tibetan Buddhism and Bon, the theory of reincarnation is used as an important tool to weave stories together in the biographies of various Tibetan saints and masters. Reincarnation is defined as the transference of consciousness from one life to the next after leaving one's physical body. The theories of karma and re-birth in Tibet were without a doubt borrowed from Indian Buddhism. This model of reincarnation in Tibet also incorporates the idea of gods descending to earth and taking human form, which is a common feature in early Indian religions.

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[88] According to our Bon text, all human beings will eventually only live an average of 10 years. However, this life span will slowly increase when the people start to perform virtuous activities again.

## Parents' Dreams and Visions

In Tibet and the Indian sub-continent, dreams and visions that parents receive before the birth of their child, as well as auspicious signs during the actual birth, are thought to have prophetic qualities. This phenomenon is still widely seen in Tibetan communities today. Dreams and visions have been used as an essential method to identify someone as the reincarnation of an important figure. The children that are identified in this way usually play an important role in their community as a reincarnated lama (Tib. *sprul sku*) or a lineage lama, or as a kind of 'religious celebrity'.

The dreams and visions of Shenrab's parents in the *mDo 'dus* are cited as evidence that he was a special child, as are the dreams and visions of Śākyamuni's parents in the *rGya cher rol pa*. According to the *mDo 'dus*, Shenrab's parents had several visions and dreams before he was born. For instance, Shenrab's father, Gyalbön Thökar, had a vision of the Tibetan syllable 'A', which was white in colour, dissolving into the crown of his own head through a secret path of a white light (Tib. *'od kyi gsang lam dkar po*). Shenrab's mother, Yöchi Gyalzhema, had a vision of a drop of seminal fluid (Tib. *byang sems*) entering her womb and transforming into a gleaming white swastika. She also had a dream of finding a shining precious jewel and seeing a white lion entering her body. Another dream involved the light from the sun and the moon emanating from a white Tibetan syllable 'A', illuminating the world and dispelling darkness, and finding a white swastika.

Many miracles are also said to have occurred, such as the blossoming of a fig tree (Tib. *u du 'bar ba*, also spelled as *'u du 'bar ra*, derived from Skt. *uḍumbara*)[89] next to the right door of the palace, and a rose-apple tree (Tib. *'dzam*

[89] According to Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary (Zhang 1996, p. 3138), it is also called *bdud 'joms shing*, the plant which rarely blossoms, but easily and quickly perishes. Apte (1989, p. 184) calls it *Gūlara*, and Monier-Williams (1899, p. 175, column 1) describes it as a fig tree (Ficus glomerata).

*bu shing*, Skt. *jambu*)[90] growing spontaneously next to the left door. These elements can also be found in the *rGya cher rol pa* (p. 63, pp. 83–84; Bays 1983, p. 123).

> In a dream had by Śākyamuni's mother, [the bodhisattva] entered her womb through her right side, in the form of a white baby elephant with six tusks. When ten months had passed and the time for the birth of the Bodhisattva had drawn nigh, thirty-two precursory signs appeared at the palace. In the ponds, blue, red and white lotuses opened their buds and extended their flowers. In the gardens, young flowering trees and fruit trees blossomed. ... From the slopes of the Himalayas, lion cubs found their way into the city of Kapila and circled joyously around the city three times. ... Five hundred young white elephants appeared and touched the feet of King Śuddhodana with the tips of their trunks.

In the above stories, the motifs of the white lion and the white elephant entering the mother's wombs are very similar, as are the blossoming of flowers and the occurrence of other auspicious signs. Other similar elements in the narratives of the *mDo 'dus* and the *rGya cher rol pa* are the seeing miracles and virtuous signs, the birth of the child from mother's right arm-pit and lotuses growing where the baby took his first steps.

The dreams and auspicious signs that are described in the *mDo 'dus* are not recorded in the *gZer mig*. This demonstrates that not all of the early Bonpo authors agreed with the account of Shenrab's life as it is presented in the *mDo 'dus*. It seems that the author of the later work selected only the parts that he considered suitable for an account of the life of the founder of Bon. In addition, it provides an example of the fact that the *mDo 'dus* contains more (elements of) stories that are comparable to the legend of the Buddha than the *gZer mig*.

[90] See Monier-Williams 1899, p. 412, column 2.

## A Miraculous Birth

The birth of the Buddha and the birth of Shenrab are said to have occurred under miraculous circumstances. There are many similarities including emerging from their mother's right side, the appearance of two Hindu gods and other celestial beings, the instantaneous growth of lotus flowers where the children took their first steps, and prophetic declarations that they would become great teachers.

According to the *mDo 'dus*, Shenrab was born from his mother's right armpit after a ten month pregnancy. He was born under the care of the goddesses of the four elements. Tshangpa (Skt. Brahmā, one of the Hindu trinity) and Gyachin (Skt. Śakra) immediately lifted the baby up in their arms with white scarves. A female nāga called Kunshema bathed the baby. The gods, humans and *gshen* ritual priests recited auspicious songs. After the ceremony, the baby was dressed in divine clothes. When the baby took his first steps in each of the four directions, many lotuses and swastikas sprang up wherever he set his feet (see *mDo 'dus*, ch. viii). These episodes seem to have been derived from the following account given in the *rGya cher rol pa* (pp. 89–91; Bays 1983, pp. 130–32).

> The end of the ten months having arrived, the Bodhisattva [Śākyamuni] now came forth, possessing full memory and knowledge; from the right side of his mother he emerged, untouched by the taint of the womb. At that very instant, Śakra, the lord of the gods, and Brahmā, the lord of the Sahā world, stood before the Bodhisattva. Filled with profound reverence, they remembered and recognized him; full of respect for the tender form of his body, they wrapped the Bodhisattva in a silken garment[91] woven with gold and silver threads and took him in their arms.
>
> The nāga kings Nanda and Upananda, showing the upper half of their bodies in the expanse of the sky, caused two streams of cool and

[91] In the Tibetan version, it is a divine cloth called *ka shi pa* (Tib. *lha'i gos ka shi pa*, cf. Skt. (*divyavastra*) *kāśika* in Monier-Williams 1899, p. 280, column 2.

warm water to flow forth to bathe the Bodhisattva.

Knowing the thoughts and the conduct of all beings, the Bodhisattva took seven steps towards the east and lotuses sprang up where he set his feet. The Bodhisattva then took seven steps to the south, seven steps to the west and seven steps to the north. He took seven more steps, he faced below [downwards], and taking seven final steps, he faced upwards.

These narratives are similar in the following respects. Firstly, according to both accounts the gestation period was ten months. This is at odds with the period of nine months and ten days (Tib. *zla dgu ngo bcu*) widely accepted by Tibetans. As we know also from Monier-Williams (1899, p. 472, column 1), the child just before birth is called *daśamāsya* 'ten months old' in the Vedic literature. This shows that the gestation period during the Vedic age is ten months, probably calculating twenty-eight days of the lunar month. Therefore, the gestation period of ten months recorded in the *Lalitavistara* and in its Tibetan translation *rGya cher rol pa* is normally accepted in India.[92]

It is not certain what kind of calendar was used in Tibet before the 11th century, yet, it is clear that during Yarlung dynasty Tibetan years were named after the twelve animals, like in the Chinese calendar. The standard Tibetan calendar was only introduced only in 1027 AD, when the *Kālacakratantra*[93] was translated into Tibetan. Tibetans have adopted the Kālacakra calendar, but combined it with the Chinese lunar calendar system. In the Tibetan lunar calendar a month consists of 29 or 30 days with an average of 29.53 days a month. To complete the

[92] The gestation period of exactly ten months for Buddha is reported as an exceptional case in the *Mahāpadānasuttanta* of the Dīgha Nikāya chapter xiv. It is written, "It is the rule that whereas other women carry the child in their womb for nine or ten months before giving birth, it is not so with the Bodhisatta's mother, who carries him for exactly ten months before giving birth. That is the rule." See Walshe (1987, p. 204, line 1.23) for this passage.

[93] This text deals with Buddhist meditation practices, philosophy, and the physical world, including the Kālacakra calculation system and the process of human development. A partial translation can be found in Wallace 2001 and 2004.

maximum gestation period of forty weeks or 280 days, according to this calculation system takes nine and half months in the Tibetan calendar. Thus, this calculation system may have determined the gestation period of nine months and ten days known to Tibetan embryologists,[94] which is also recorded in the Bon text, *gZer mig*.

One possible explanation of why the gestation period of 'ten months' is recorded in the *mDo 'dus* could simply be that the author(s) faithfully rendered the gestation period recorded in the *rGya cher rol pa* or in other related sources, based on the knowledge of embryology in India.[95] Another possibility is that the author(s) might have considered the ten months pregnancy period as an exceptional case reserved for extraordinary beings, like the Buddha or Shenrab, for the Bonpos. The time frame of ten months might also be the result of the use of a different calendar system, possibly another type of lunar calendar, before the implementation of the Kālacakra calendar system in Tibet.

Secondly, according to both the *mDo 'dus* and the *rGya cher rol pa,* the baby was born from its mother's right armpit. In Tibetan literature, this way of birth is reserved for great figures. Once more, the story of the manner of the Buddha's birth was borrowed to compose the story of the birth of Shenrab.

According to a Bon cosmological text (*mDzod sgra 'grel*, p. 142), there are four ways in which birth can take place. The two that relate to human birth are ordinary birth from a mother's womb (Tib. *mngal skyes*) and a miraculous birth (Tib. *rdzus skyes*), which is usually believed to occur from the upper parts of body. Both Buddhists and Bonpos believe that great figures like the Buddha and Shenrab should avoid being born in the normal way, thus it is claimed that they were both born from their mother's right arm-pit. However, there are different

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[94] A very elaborate and traditional Bon account of embryology is given in the 13th-14th-century text called *rTsa rgyud nyi sgron* (pp. 149-67). See Garrett's dissertation (2004, p. 38) regarding the early Indian sources that have informed Tibetan understanding of embryology.

[95] There is a single occurrence of 'nine months and ten days' in the *mDo 'dus* (ch. 20, p. 191), which seems to have been amended later.

reasons given in these two accounts for why the birth occurred from the right arm-pit. According to the *rGya cher rol pa*, it was prevent pollution by the supposed impurities of the mother's genital organ. Impurity is not mentioned in the *mDo 'dus*; instead it is written that the baby could not be born from the mother's womb because it was blocked by Māra.[96] Nevertheless, the parallels in the two stories show that one account was derived from the other.

Thirdly, the Hindu gods Brahmā and Śakra were present during the birth of both Śākyamuni and Shenrab. However, the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* also lists them among the celestial figures that became Shenrab's audience when he was teaching. This suggests that early Bonpo authors may have had limited knowledge about these two mythical Hindu figures and the role that they ought to play in the story of Bon.

Fourth, the baby Shenrab was bathed by a female nāga called Kunshema, and it were the nāga kings Nanda and Upananda who were the first to bathe the baby Buddha. Although there are minor differences in the gender and number of the figures bathing the infants, both sources equally categorized them as being nāgas.

Fifth, the accounts of the newborn babies taking their first steps in the four directions (north, south, east and west) and the growth of lotuses where they placed their feet are similar. The author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* doesn't specify the number of steps or the number of flowers that grew, but according to the *rGya cher rol pa* the baby took seven steps in each of the four directions and seven more steps facing upwards and downwards.

Another point of similarity between the two narratives is that both children were examined by wise men, who predicted that they would become great teachers. After Shenrab was born, the Brahmin Salwa arrived at the gate of the

[96] It is mentioned in the following passage in the *mDo 'dus* (ch. xxiii, p. 216), "when I was first entering into a womb [of the mother], [you] overshadowed [my] mother by illness, but the nectar of gods cured that illness. And when [I was] taking birth, [you] *rākṣasa* blocked the door of the womb, [so] I came out from the right arm-pit of my mother."

Trimon Gyalshay palace. He inspected the baby and predicted that he would become 'Tonpa Shenrab'. This is similar to the following passage from the *rGya cher rol pa* (pp. 110–11; Bays 1983, pp. 152–53).

> When the great rishi Asita examined the Bodhisattva, he saw that his body bore the thirty-two signs of a great man, and the eighty secondary marks. Then he expressed his thoughts, saying "truly a great wonder has appeared in the world."
>
> After circumambulating the Bodhisattva, Asita pressed him to his breast and gazed thoughtfully at the thirty-two signs marking the body of the Bodhisattva. For the great man endowed with these signs, there are two ways of being and no other. If he remains at home, he will be a Cakravartin king with four armies of victorious troops, a great leader devoted to the Dharma. But if he departs from home to wander as a homeless monk, he will be a Tathāgata, a prefect and complete Buddha, a guide unequalled by any other.

The soothsayer Brahmin in the story of Shenrab was named Salwa. Like in the Buddha legend, Brahmin Salwa also inspected the baby and prophesied his future. In the *gZer mig*, the Brahmin soothsayer who inspected Shenrab was known by a different name, Salkhyab Oden. He is identified as having been the family priest since the time of Shenrab's grandparents. This Brahmin also named Shenrab's father, *Mi bon lha bon yo bon rgyal bon thod dkar* (*gZer mig*, p. 15). I will return to this name in chapter six of this dissertation. The soothsayer Brahmin fainted when he saw the baby Shenrab and declared himself to be an unfortunate old man (see *gZer mig*, pp. 49–50).

> The parents asked Brahmin Salkhyab to come to the palace to check the boy's birth mark. At seeing the baby's face, the soothsayer cried and

> fainted. When the king asked the reason for his anxiety, the soothsayer explained that he was unfortunate because he had already become an old man at this time, when the teacher had just been born.

This account from the *gZer mig* parallels the following account given in the *rGya cher rol pa* (pp. 111–12; Bays 1983, pp. 153–55), which actually is not recorded in the *mDo 'dus*.

> Looking upon the Bodhisattva, Asita began to weep and uttered a deep sigh. With strong apprehension [King Śuddhodana] asked the great rishi, "Why are you weeping rishi, and uttering great sighs? Is there some danger you see for the young prince?"
>
> At these words, the rishi Asita spoke the following, "Great King, it is not for the young prince that I am weeping, because for him there is truly no danger. It is for myself that I weep. Why is that, Great King? Because, I am old and feeble."
>
> [He further said], "I will not see this jewel of a Buddha. And this is why, Great King, I am weeping, I am distressed, and I utter deep sighs, for I will not become free from sickness and from attachment."

As it is presented here, it was the great rishi Asita, who in the legend of the Buddha examined the boy and predicted that the boy would either become a King and 'world conqueror' or a Tathāgata and 'world renouncer'.

A final similarity is that in both accounts celestial beings and people from various castes like Brahmins and Kṣatriyas gathered to make offerings to the newborn children. According to the *mDo 'dus*, the gods of the five elements performed auspicious songs; celestial beings recited praises and circumambulated the Barpo

Sogye palace; and the young gods, goddesses, nāgas and scent eaters[97] showered flowers on the baby Shenrab from the sky. These events are also recorded in the *rGya cher rol pa* (pp. 127–28, p. 130; Bays 1983, p. 181, p. 184).

> A Brāhmin named Udāyana, the father of Udāyin, attended by five hundred Brāhmins, sought audience with King Śuddhodana: "O Royal One", he said to the king, "it is time that ornaments be made for the young prince." [The ornaments were made.] The king said [to the Brāhmin], "You may honour and ornament the young prince with the jewellery that I have had made for him."
>
> "The prosperity of the son of the Śākya family will be supreme and extensive!" Having spoken, the goddess showered flowers on the Bodhisattva and disappeared from the garden.

Similar to the way the Brahmin Udāyana was appointed to honour and ornament the boy in the legend of the Buddha, the coronation of Shenrab was performed by members of Brahmin and royal classes. Moreover, in the *mDo 'dus* the offering of flowers was carried out by gods, goddesses and other non-human beings, in the same way as the ceremony was sanctified with a shower of flowers by the goddess in the *rGya cher rol pa*. Comparing these events enables us to see the import of the relevant narratives of the *rGya cher rol pa*. In brief, the evidence reviewed here suggests that the mythical account in the *mDo 'dus* is construed on the basis of the legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni. This account became an important source for the story of the life of the founder among later Bonpos.

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[97] The Tibetan word here is *dri za* (Skt. *gandharva*) and the Tibetan translator has understood this as a class of beings living on scent (Tib. *dri,* Skt. *gandha*). Therefore, I translated the term here as 'scent eater', which is possibly what the author meant.

## Education and Visit to Other Continents

Shenrab's education is only referred to briefly in the *mDo 'dus*. It says that as he was growing up he received instruction in reading, writing, mathematics and sporting activities and mastered them all. However, there is no mention of any teacher. In contrast, the *rGya cher rol pa* (pp. 130–35) states that the young Śākyamuni had a teacher named Viśvāmitra. Śākyamuni displayed great skill in mathematics, archery and other worldly arts during numerous competitions (*rGya cher rol pa*, pp. 141–62). He is also said to have been born with skills acquired in past lives. For example, he was an expert in all sixty-four scripts and their corresponding literature (see *rGya cher rol pa*, pp. 132–33; Bays 1983, p. 189–90 for the list of scripts).

Although not specifically mentioned, Shenrab's academic and physical abilities are implied in the *mDo 'dus*. He supposedly began teaching when he was only three years old, even visiting other continents to do so. The idea of a child travelling on his own accord from one continent to another is of course difficult to imagine. The point of this probably is to underline that Shenrab possessed extraordinary or even supernatural powers, even since his early childhood.

At the age of three, he visited the city Langling. He took a bath in Mulehe Lake and then paid homage to his maternal grandfather King Sala.[98] The goddesses of the four elements, viz. wind, water, earth and fire, made offerings to the boy.[99] Then the boy visited the northern continent of Uttarakuru (Tib. *byang sgra mi*

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[98] The Tibetan passage relevant here is "*rgyal po sa la phyag 'tshal te/*", which can be translated in the following two ways. The first translation may be "the king prostrating to the earth" by taking the word *sa* as for the earth/ground and the word *la* as a locative particle, but the problem with this translation is that the word *rgyal po* 'king' becomes irrelevant in this passage. Therefore, I prefer the second translation "paid homage to the King Sala." Since the King Sala is identified as Shenrab's maternal grandfather, Shenrab may have visited him to pay respect.

[99] The goddess of the wind offered a turquoise drum (Tib. *g.yu rnga*, another reading *g.yu rta* 'a turquoise horse'), the goddess of the water offered a vase (Tib. *bum pa*) filled with drops of nectar (Tib. *bdud rtsi*), the goddess of the earth offered food (Tib. *zhal zas*) crowned with jewels, and the goddess of the fire offered a banner (Tib. *ba dan*) decorated with shining green leaves (Tib. *'od kyi ljang lo*).

*snyan*, ‘unpleasant sound of the north’) where the people ate nectar and wore leaves. He prayed for these people to live for a thousand years and he gave them teachings on selflessness. Then he went to the western continent of Aparagodāna (Tib. *nub ban glang spyod*, ‘cattle utilizing of west’).[100] The inhabitants there were wealthy so he taught them about generosity and giving. The boy then went to the eastern continent of Pūrvavideha (Tib. *shar lus ’phags po*, ‘supreme body of east’) and taught them about tolerance. Lastly, he returned to his homeland Olmo Ling (*mDo ’dus*, pp. 57–58).

As seen above, the boy is described as having visited three of the four continents and taught Bon to the people there. In cosmogonic theories of both Bon and Buddhist traditions, there are four continents located in the four directions (north, south, east and west) with the mythical Mount Sumeru as the axis of the universe. The four continents are Uttarakuru in the north, Aparagodāna in the west, Pūrvavideha in the east and Jambudvīpa in the south. [101] These continents are also recorded in the *rGya cher rol pa*, although in a different context. The first three continents are considered to be less civilized than Jambudvīpa, and so inappropriate places for a Buddha to be born. Therefore, the Buddha is said to have chosen to be born in the most civilized continent, Jambudvīpa.

According to the *mDo ’dus*, the education of Shenrab took place before he reached the age of three. It is also recorded that he was enthroned at the age of ten, upon returning to his homeland. Therefore the teachings he gave in the three continents must have taken place when he was between three and ten years old (*mDo ’dus*, p. 58). There is no mention of the Buddha being a teacher at such a young age or travelling to other continents.

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[100] Although the Sanskrit word *godāna* means ‘gift of cattle’, the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit word preserved in Buddhist and Bon texts is *ban glang spyod*, which means ‘cattle utilizing’. There seems to be either a miscontextualizing of the Sanskrit word *dāna* or it may be simply a Tibetan scribal error from the Tibetan word *sbyin* (Skt. *dāna* ‘to give’) to the word *spyod* ‘to utilize’ (cf. Skt. *bhoga*). The current Tibetan understanding of *Aparagodāna* is the country where people live on cattle.

[101] These four continents are sometimes referred as the four islands; see Bays 1983, p. 36.

## THE ASCETIC LIFE

### The Four Sights and Departure

Like the Buddha, Shenrab abandoned his family life and became an ascetic at the age of thirty-one. For both of them, this renunciation was inspired by four incidents that they witnessed while outside the palace. As described in the *mDo 'dus* (ch. xiii), Shenrab saw the four causes of suffering at the four gates of the Trimon Gyalshay palace. These were the suffering caused by birth, aging, illness and death. This corresponds to the account in the *rGya cher rol pa*, in which the young Śākyamuni is said to have witnessed four events at the four gates of his palace. The four sights are explained in the *rGya cher rol pa* in the following way (Bays 1983, pp. 285-90). First, the Buddha saw an old decrepit man on the road as he departed through the eastern gate of the city towards the pleasure garden. Second, he saw a man who had been stricken by disease, when he passed through the southern gate. Third, he saw a dead man on a palanquin covered with a cloth canopy when he departed through the western gate. Fourth, he saw a monk when departing through the city's northern gate (*rGya cher rol pa*, pp. 190–92). The only difference is that Śākyamuni saw a monk upon exiting the palace whereas Shenrab is said to have witnessed a birth.

In the *rGya cher rol pa,* the four causes of suffering: birth, old age, illness and death, are recorded separately from the four sights. It is very likely that the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* derived these four causes of suffering from this Buddhist theory, and interpreted them as the four sights.

**Table:** The Four Sights of Shenrab and Buddha

| *mDo 'dus* | | *rGya cher rol pa* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Birth | = | None |
| 2. Aged | = | 1. An old man |
| 3. Illness | = | 2. A sick man |
| 4. Death | = | 3. A dead man |
| [see below] | = | 4. A monk |

After witnessing these four sights, both the Buddha and Shenrab chose to give up their lives of luxury and search for a way to overcome suffering. Like the Buddha, Shenrab left his parents, wives, children, royal assistants and the comfort of his palace to embrace a solitary life. However, there is a minor difference in the way they left their families. According to the *rGya cher rol pa*, the Buddha left the royal palace without his family members knowing that he intended to do so; while Shenrab's family knew about his intention to leave and requested that he postpone his departure, although he refused. This difference may be explained by the fact that there are different accounts of how the Buddha departed from his palace. Not all accounts say that he left the palace unnoticed. For instance, in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (the middle length discourses of the Buddha), it is recorded that his father and surrogate mother were aware of his intention to leave and they objected and wept (see Schumann 2004, pp. 45–46 and Ñanamoli and Bodhi 1995). It can thus be inferred that the Bon account of Shenrab's departure could have been derived from a Buddhist source other than the *rGya cher rol pa*. It also demonstrates that not all Buddhist authors agree that the Buddha's departure from home was unnoticed by his family members. However, one might wonder about the relevance of this Pāli Nikāya to the *mDo 'dus* because this Nikāya was not available in Tibetan when the *mDo 'dus* was written. I hypothesize that the early Bonpo authors had access to fragments of stories about Buddha, probably derived from legendary accounts like those in the *Majjhima Nikāya*.[102]

In the *mDo 'dus*, it is also mentioned that when Shenrab left the palace he rode a horse that was as white as conch shell (Tib. *dung rta*).[103] The horse was led by a servant, whose name is not given in the *mDo 'dus*. The four great deities (Tib. *gsas chen ru bzhi*, see their names given below) lifted the feet of the horse so that he could leave the palace immediately and peacefully, and reach his intended

[102] See Nakamura (1980, reprint 1989, pp. 35-36) about this source.

[103] According to the *mDo 'dus* (ch. ix), this is the first among the four horses that the four great deities offered to Shenrab during his teaching of Bon. The horse is called *gar rta 'phyo ba*, whose colour is white like conch.

destination, the island of ascetic practice. This story can be compared almost word for word with the story presented in the *rGya cher rol pa*. When the Bodhisattva arose from his couch, the whole earth shook in six ways. He mounted the king of horses, which was as white as the disk of the full moon. The Guardians of the world lifted the supreme horse with their hands, pure as a spotless lotus (*rGya cher rol pa*, p. 219; Bays 1983, pp. 333–34). The simile used to describe the colour of the horse in this passage is 'as white as the disk of the full moon' whereas in the *mDo 'dus* it is 'as white as a conch shell.'[104] However, the fact that both horses are described as being pure white may be sufficient to confirm a link between the two sources. Likewise, as Śākyamuni was accompanied by his subject Chandaka when he left the city of Kapilavastu, Shenrab was also accompanied by a subject. As the guardians lifted the hooves of the horse to silently clear the way for the Buddha,[105] the four great deities also lifted the hooves of the horse for Shenrab. Furthermore, the four great deities in the *mDo 'dus* are described as appearing from the four directions: Garse Tsenpo from the east, Goese Khampa from the north, Sejay Mangpo from the west and Namse Khyungrum from the south. [106] The four great kings in the Buddha legend, who were also known as the four guardians of the world (Bays 1983, pp. 327–28), also came from the four directions: Dhṛtarāṣṭra from the east, Virūdhaka from the south, Virūpākṣa from the west and Vaiśravaṇa from the north.

There are three main similarities here. Firstly, both the horses are white. Secondly, four great beings lift the feet of the horses in both stories and for exactly the same purpose. Thirdly, the four great kings and four great deities came from the four directions.

[104] This simile 'a white horse like a conch shell' is also found in the 13th-century legend of the Buddha, *Jinacarita* written in Pāli by Vanaratana Medhakara; see stanza 178 in Rouse 1905.

[105] This line appears in the *rGya cher rol pa* (p. 200) as, "the four great kings, having entered the royal palace of Aḍakavatī, said to the assembly of Yakṣas, 'Today, friends, the Bodhisattva leaves home; as he leaves, you must lift up the hooves of his horse'." Cf. Bays 1983, p. 306.

[106] The four great deities are also listed among the thousand Bonpo Buddhas in the *Klong rgyas*, a funeral ritual text of Bonpos.

<u>**Table:** The Four Great Deities and the Four Great Kings</u>

| **Four Great Deities** | **Four Directions** | **Four Great Kings, alias Four Guardians** |
|---|---|---|
| Garse Tsenpo | From the east | Yul ʼkhor srung (Skt. Dhṛtarāṣṭra) |
| Goese Khampa | From the north | Lus ngan (Skt. Kubera alias Vaiśravaṇa) |
| Sejay Mangpo | From the west | Mig mi bzang (Skt. Virūpākṣa) |
| Namse Khyungrum | From the south | ʼPhags skyes po (Skt. Virūdhaka) |

## Becoming a Monk

There are important differences in the way Shenrab and Siddhārtha became monks, although the stories contain common threads. In the Mahāyāna, the enlightened ones, including the Buddha, are said to have practised an ascetic life before being born into this world to liberate sentient beings. In the *mDo ʼdus* this concept is applied to Shenrab. He is said to have been a monk who had already achieved enlightenment in his previous life, but descended to this world as a *nirmāṇakāya* to subdue and to liberate other sentient beings. Thus, he had already detached himself from worldly properties before his descent. Such a description is not found in the case of the Buddha.

However, there are important similarities. For example, Shenrab also met a monk who encouraged him to become a monk. This account seems to be influenced by the 'fourth sighting' in the legend of the Buddha, when the young Śākyamuni saw a monk, when exiting the northern gate of the palace (see *supra* p. 75), and was inspired to take up an ascetic life.

According to the *mDo ʼdus*, the monk's name was Legden Gyalwa. He was a disciple of Shenrab's predecessor, Togyal Yekhyen, and is described as having had a good moral disposition and the desire to benefit others. A deep appreciation arose in him and Shenrab asked the monk to ordain him as a monk as well. The sage welcomed his request and initiated him as a monk. He also informed Shenrab that all the previous teachers of the Bon tradition had left their families to become

monks. They all followed the vows, wore the sacred clothes (Tib. *rmad gos*), practiced austerity and gained victory over the five māras.

Shenrab was thirty-one years of age when he left his home and became a monk. While he was receiving initiation, all the celestial beings including the subduing deities[107] and *bonpos*[108] congratulated him with flowers. Thereupon, Shenrab cut his knotted hair (Tib. *gtsug phud dbu skra*) in front of a self-emerged stūpa. Brahmā and the Śakra collected the hair in their hair washbasin (Tib. *skra gzhong*). Shenrab washed himself with nectar-water (Tib. *bdud rtsi* (*khrus chab*), Skt. *amṛta*, water considered to be *amṛta*) dropped by the sky goddesses. Celestial beings offered him six sacred garments (Tib. *rmad gos*) to wear, which were made by a miraculous technique.[109] A mendicant's staff (Tib. *hos ru*), a cooling fan (Tib. *bsil yab/g.yab*) and an alms bowl (Tib. *pad phor*) also fell into his hands. All the enlightened beings gathered like clouds in the sky and showered flowers while singing auspicious prayers (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 111–13). After the initiation was complete, Shenrab handed his horse over to his subject and asked him to return it safely to his father. In the *rGya cher rol pa*, Śākyamuni also asks his assistant Chandaka to take his ornaments and his horse back to the palace. Then Shenrab followed the monastic discipline on the island of the right rules (Tib. *rnam dag*

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[107] There are six Bon deities known as the subduing deities (Tib. *'dul ba'i gshen*) and they are believed to be the saviours of the six realms. According to the *Srid rgyud kha byang chen mo* (pp. 300-306), they are: 1) Kokhen Tsukphu (a.k.a. Yeshen Tsukphu) is the saviour of the god realm, 2) Chegyal Barti is the saviour of the demi-god realm, 3) Drachin Donpung is the saviour of the human realm, 4) Tisang Rangzhi is the saviour of the animal realms, 5) Mucho Demdrug is the saviour of the hungry-ghost realm, and 6) Sangwa Ngangring is the saviour of the hell realm. All of them are said to be emanations of Shenrab.

[108] See appendix 2 for the list of thirty-three *bonpos*. I use italics here to separate it from the Bonpos, the name used nowadays for followers of the Bon religion.

[109] The six sacred clothes are 1) sacred upper garment (Tib. *rmad gos*), 2) sacred hat (Tib. *rmad zhu*), 3) sacred lower garment (Tib. *rmad sham*), 4) the lotus shoes (Tib. *pad lham*), 5) a lotus cloth (Tib. *pad shun/shud*) that is not identifiable, and 6) the cushion (Tib. *gding ba*). For a different list of the six clothes, see *A Lexicon of Zhangzhung and Bonpo Terms* (Nagano 2008, p. 126). *Pad shun* is described separately on p. 140.

*khrim(s) kyis(kyi) gling*).[110]

There indeed is a noticeable difference between the way Shenrab and the Buddha became monks. For instance, Shenrab met a monk who ordained him, in contrast there is no account of the Buddha requesting ordination from any monk. Shenrab had a formal ordination ceremony, but the Buddha did not follow any formal procedure. According to the *rGya cher rol pa* (p. 223; Bays 1983, pp. 339–40), Śākyamuni transformed himself into an ascetic monk just by giving up all his princely clothing and ornaments, cutting his own hair and taking a saffron robe in an exchange with a hunter. However, there is a passage that describes Śākyamuni approaching Rudraka, the son of Rāma, to receive the instruction on meditation that he needed in order to discover the source of suffering and the path to liberation (Bays 1983, p. 374).

Shenrab followed the monastic discipline, which indicates that there was already a monastic discipline to be followed by a monk. This is different in the case of the Buddha, as there is no mention of a monastic discipline in the *rGya cher rol pa* that the Buddha was supposed to follow. In other words, when Shenrab took his ordination, there already was a concept of the discipline that a monk is supposed to follow.

Despite these differences, there also are some significant parallels in the *mDo 'dus* and the *rGya cher rol pa* in the way these two figures became monks. Firstly, Shenrab cut his hair in front of a self-emerged stūpa and in the place where the Buddha cut off a lock of his hair there also appeared a stūpa (Skt. *caitya*; *rGya cher rol pa*, p. 223; Bays 1983, p. 339). Secondly, Brahmā and Śakra honoured Shenrab's hair by collecting it in their wash basins and similarly thirty three gods took the Buddha's hair to their heaven for worship (*rGya cher rol pa*, p. 223, Bays 1983, p. 339). Thirdly, saffron garments were offered to both Shenrab and the

[110] The traditional account that the Buddha became monk or left his family at the age of twenty-nine is commonly accepted by scholars (cf. Nakamura (1980, reprint 1989, p. 18) and Hirakawa (1998, p. 24). Hirakawa also writes that according to different accounts the Buddha became monk at the age of nineteen or thirty-one, but unfortunately he does not specify the accounts.

Buddha by celestial beings. Fourthly, enlightened beings gathered and sung auspicious prayers on the day of Shenrab's ordination and similarly a hundred thousand joyous Devaputras sung after the Buddha's ordination. Finally, Śākyamuni sent his assistant Chandaka back to the palace with his ornaments and horse Kanthaka (*rGya cher rol pa*, p. 222, Bays 1983, p. 338) and Shenrab also asked his subject to return his horse safely to his father.

## Practising Austerity

According to the *mDo 'dus*, Shenrab carried out his ascetic practices after he became a monk, on an island called the right rules or 'pure discipline' (Tib. *rnam dag khrim(s) kyis(kyi) gling*). The influence of the story of the Buddha on the narrative of the *mDo 'dus* can be seen here too, although the details differ somewhat.

Similar to the six years of austere practices carried out by the Buddha near the Nairañjanā River, Shenrab also abstained from eating food for three years without interruption. Each consecutive year of this austere practice was called the human, the monkey, and the bird fasting, respectively. The first year of fasting was completed near the Gyimshang river,[111] during which Shenrab took only one drop of water per day. The second year was practised in the land of the gods called 'the four great kings',[112] by eating only one piece of fruit per day. The third year was completed in the land of the thirty-three gods (Tib. *sum bcu rtsa gsum*, Skt. *trayastriṁśa*),[113] during which he ate and drank nothing, and remained in a state of total abstinence. In the above narrative, Shenrab's three years of austere practices

[111] Two names of rivers separately recorded in the *mDo 'dus*, p. 207, *gyim shang* and *na ra 'dza ra*, which flow in opposite directions (see also Martin 1999, p. 266). The name of the second river is apparently derived from the Nairañjanā river, near which the Buddha completed his six year austerity practices.

[112] The four great kings, known in Tibetan as *rgyal chen rigs bzhi* (Skt. *caturmahārājakāyika*) are probably derived from Buddhist cosmology (see Mimaki 2000 for a detail study in this regard). They are considered to be gods of the desire realm (Skt. *Kāmadhātu*).

[113] This is another level of gods in the desire realm (Skt. *Kāmadhātu*); see Mimaki 2000, p. 90.

are clearly described.[114] The *rGya cher rol pa,* on the other hand, makes no mention of the three types of fasting nor of any visit to god realms. However, Siddhārtha's fasting also began with eating very little and ended with eating nothing. He started by eating only a single juniper berry every day, which was then reduced to a single grain of rice, then a sesame seed and finally he ate nothing at all. This ascetic practice lasted for six years (*rGya cher rol pa*, p. 247; Bays 1983, pp. 386–88; cf. also Dewu Josay 1987, p. 28). Although based on the same motif presented in the *rGya cher rol pa*, Shenrab's austere practice is recorded differently in the *mDo 'dus*. Shenrab not only conducted his practice in the human world, but also went to the land of Caturmahārājakāyika and Trayastriṁśa, which are considered to be heavenly realms.

Further similarities can be seen in the events that occurred upon completion of the three years of austere practices. Shenrab descended from the land of the gods and went to his home land of Olmo Ling. On his way, a daughter of Brahmin Sala[115] offered him some milk soup (Tib. *ʼo maʼi ʼjam*, which is usually a rice soup cooked with milk) and the king of honeybees offered Shenrab a bowl of honey (*mDo 'dus*, p. 113).[116] The narrative structure here also closely resembles the following passage from the *rGya cher rol pa* (pp. 263–64, Bays 1983, pp. 407–78).

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[114] In the short text on the twelve deeds of Shenrab entitled *mDzad pa bcu gnyis*, Shenrab is said to have practised austerity for the period of nine years, which is different from the account in the *mDo 'dus*.

[115] Cf. the Brahmin Salwa who inspected the baby Shenrab and prophesied his future, whom I discussed in a previous section.

[116] The relevant passage in Tibetan is "*bong(bung) ba'i rgyal pos sbrang rtsis pad phor drangs*". In the *mDo 'dus* Karmay (f. 54b), the phrase *bong(bung) ba'i rgyal po* is written without an agentive particle *yis* after the noun *rgyal po*. On the contrary, there is an agentive particle in the other two versions, thus I have translated the passage as "the king of honey bees offered a bowl of honey." Nevertheless, I prefer a genitive particle *yi* instead of agentive particle *yis*, and the phrase should read as: *bong(bung) ba'i rgyal po'i sbrang rtsis*, 'the honey of (from) the king of bees'. The confusion between an agentive and a genitive particle is seen very often in Tibetan texts. With this alteration, the preferable translation of the passage will then be "[the daughter of Brahmin Sala] offered a bowl of honey from the king of bees" and this corresponds with the story in the *rGya cher rol pa*.

> Sujātā, daughter of Nāndika the head villager, immediately took the milk of a thousand cows, drew from it seven times the purest cream, and poured this cream together with the freshest and newest rice into an earthen pot which she put on a new fireplace. Sujātā offered the Bodhisattva a golden bowl filled with milk and honey.

As the Buddha was offered a bowl of milk by Sujātā, daughter of Nāndika, Shenrab also received an offering of a bowl of milk from a Brahmin girl. The offerings were made when the Buddha and Shenrab were completely exhausted after their severe practices. There are similarities in the act of offering, the gender of the person making the offering, the time at which it was made and the substances that were offered. The daughter of the head villager offered a golden bowl filled with milk and honey to the Buddha. This is only one offering but it consists of the same two substances that were offered to Shenrab separately: a bowl of milk and a bowl of honey.

## Māra's Magical Tricks

Both Shenrab and Śākyamuni are said to have been challenged by a māra who tried to distract them from their goal of achieving enlightenment.[117] According to the *mDo 'dus* (ch. xii), Khyapa Lagring[118] performed magical tricks to distract Shenrab from his meditation (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 91–107). As the first challenge, Māra Khyapa created magic mountains, rivers and fire to demonstrate his power when Shenrab was resting at the city called Langling. Shenrab through his spiritual

[117] Māra Pāpīyān manifested in billions of different forms to disturb Śākyamuni's practice in the *rGya cher rol pa* (pp. 298ff; Bays 1983, p. 466)

[118] Tib. *khyab pa lag ring* can be translated as 'pervasive long hand'. See *rGya cher rol pa* (p. 304) for a similar name, *lag rings*, 'long hand' (Skt. *dīrghabāhu*). The name is found in the list of māras (*rGya cher rol pa*, p. 303ff).

power transformed them into a lotus garden.[119] In the *rGya cher rol pa* (p. 309; Bays 1983, p. 480), Māra threw mountains to injure or kill Śākyamuni, which he transformed into a canopy of flowers.

There are two more episodes involving Māra in the *mDo 'dus* that can be compared to events in the *rGya cher rol pa*. These involve beautiful maidens trying to seduce Shenrab and an army of demons trying to destroy Shenrab's practice.

i) **Six Daughters of Māra**

Māra Khyapa appeared in the form of six girls and performed thirty-six deceptive tricks (*mDo 'dus*, p. 118) to distract Shenrab from his meditation, but Shenrab transformed these young girls into six old ladies. Here I shall paraphrase the episode from the *mDo 'dus*.

When Shenrab renounced his kingdom, wealth, wives, sons, daughters and followers, and wandered alone as a monk, Khyapa did not leave him alone and sent his six daughters to distract him from his meditative concentration. They were beautifully ornamented with various garlands, showing their beautiful faces, performing a seductive song and dancing in front of the teacher. They said in one voice, "Oh the best of men! We are six daughters of the gods, who possess the qualities of being loveable, pretty like a blooming flower or a beautiful lotus, full of desire and enjoyable to be with. If you accept us as your life partners, then there will be no fault or regret. Therefore, abstain from this cloth of pure morality and put on beautiful clothes instead. Stop trying to achieve enlightenment and come and have fun with us." The teacher replied, "I do not desire the lotus-like face of the daughter of a god, because it is like a pot filled with vomitous impurity. It is

[119] Some more stories regarding the tricks of Māra are recorded in the *mDo 'dus*. For instance, Māra miraculously appeared as Shenrab's father and gave him false advice, he appeared as Shenrab's mother and tried to persuade him to perform a non-virtuous activity, he appeared as the four great deities (Tib. *gsas chen ru bzhi*) when Shenrab was preaching, and he miraculously appeared as the son of a god and seduced Shenrab's wife, the *dpo* princess Thangmo (see the next chapter on this princess). However, I do not discuss these tricks here as I cannot find any parallel stories in the *rGya cher rol pa*.

like an old lady, who is eighty years old and still desperately desires love. Instead of indulging in that kind of love, I prefer stable meditation as an antidote. Desiring love is like an itch, such as one suffers when one has a skin infection like scabies. The more you scratch, the more you itch, thus to stop scratching is the only way to reduce that irritating feeling. It is also like thirst increases when one drinks salty water. I am not attached to those illusionary objects of desire. If you are able to perceive that illusionary object as your mental creation, then no desire will arise." After saying that, the teacher snapped his fingers and the six daughters transformed into six ugly old ladies.

The six old ladies confessed and praised the teacher, "Glorious teacher! You have left [your worldly possessions to become a monk]. You have no attachment to your royal possessions or home. You consider the objects of desire to be like an illusion, and you remained like the lotus in [muddy] water. To deceive [your practice], we have said many embarrassing and shameful words, but we immediately received your punishment and we became old and ugly. [Therefore] we want to confess our crime and ask you, the great teacher, to forgive us. The heart of the great teacher is [vast] like the sky, and is without any stain like the lotus in muddy water. The signs and the marks of Shenrab Miwo are blazing.[120] We praise and prostrate to you, the one who possesses the great knowledge. If you can do us a favour, then kindly release us from this state of discomfort." With this prayer they offered flowers. They then received initiation, became nuns and were admitted into the lady's group at Khoma Neuchung. The son of Māra, Sharwa Kyadun also became a monk and was admitted into the men's group (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 103–105).

This story might have been based on two separate accounts in the *rGya cher rol pa*. The first account appears in chapter twenty-one (The Defeat of Māra)

[120] It refers to the thirty-two major signs and the eighty minor marks. According to both Bon and Buddhist traditions, these signs and marks are special characteristics of 'the enlightened one,' and are an indication of completely perfected body. Cf. Martin 1991, pp. 93-100.

and the second in chapter twenty-four (Trapuṣa and Bhallika). According to chapter twenty-one, Māra Pāpīyān[121] sent his daughters and they manifested the thirty-two kinds of feminine wiles (Bays 1983, pp. 483–84). Then in order to excite the desires of Śākyamuni they sang to him, including the following two verses (Bays 1983, pp. 485 & 487).

> "We are well-born, well-made to give pleasure to gods and men, for this do we exist. Arise, enjoy your beautiful youth. Supreme wisdom is difficult to attain; dismiss it from your thoughts."
> They know the arts of music, singing, playing instruments and dancing. They are ruled by love, they live to give pleasure. If you disdain these great beauties you will truly be robbing yourself.

Śākyamuni responded to these activities of Māra's daughters calmly, free from all passion, hatred, and confusion and with his mind perfectly firm (*rGya cher rol pa*, pp. 314–15; Bays 1983, pp. 487–88).

> Having renounced emotionality, he had entered the gate of wisdom, and now with a voice as soft and pleasant as the song of the nightingale, a voice which surpassed Brahmā's, beautiful and heart-touching, he answered the demon's daughters: "Desires collect much suffering; desires indeed are the root of suffering. They corrupt the contemplations, the supernatural powers, and the austerities of those who do not take care. The wise speak well: there is no satisfaction to be found in the quality of desiring women. By means of knowledge, I will satisfy the ignorant. Like the man who has drunk salty water, the one who nourishes desires finds his thirst increasing endlessly; indulging in the passions, he is useful neither to himself nor to

[121] This name appears in the *rGya cher rol pa*, as an epithet of Māra, in Tibetan *sdig can*, 'the sinful one', rather than as a proper name as given in the English translation (Bays 1983, p. 483).

others. But I have the wish to be useful to both myself and others."

There are noticeable similarities between these passages and the above two paragraphs from the *mDo 'dus*. For instance, the daughters were sent by their father Māra, they showed their attractive bodies and sung seductive songs, in which they proposed their love. Furthermore, both Shenrab and the Buddha rejected these proposals and explained the negative effects of desire to the daughters using the same simile. Both of them said that desire is like salty water, which only increases thirst when one drinks it.

Following this, Shenrab snapped his fingers and transformed the six daughters into six ugly old women. Realizing their error, they confessed their sins to the teacher and offered him praise. Similar events are described in the following passages from the *rGya cher rol pa* (p. 361; Bays 1983, pp. 572-73).

> They [Māra's daughters] took on the aspect of youth in its first flower, and blindly approached the Tathāgata. The Tathāgata paid them no heed except to bless them, at which they changed into decrepit old women.

> Approaching the Tathāgata, the daughters of Māra implored him: "O Bhagavat, forgive us our fault! O Sugata, it was the fault of ignorant women deprived of light, the action of fools. We were confused and misinformed, for we thought the Bhagavat could be moved! Pray, forgive us!"

**ii) Army of Māra Khyapa**

The second manifestation that occurs in both stories is the manifestation of an army of demons. The following are detailed accounts from the two sources to demonstrate the comparison more closely. In the *mDo 'dus*, Shenrab is said to have gained victory over a billion of Māra's soldiers at the nine-stacked swastika

mountain (Tib. *g.yung drung dgu rtsegs ri*).[122] This episode is described in detail in the *mDo 'dus* (ch xii, pp. 105–06).

According to the story, when Khyapa was not able to move Shenrab by any means, he decided to collect an army of demons by seeking help from his grandfather, Garab Wangchug. The latter pointed out that Shenrab could not be defeated by any means, and that the number of Māra's followers was decreasing. Khyapa further conveyed his feeling of anxiety that if Shenrab achieved enlightenment, then the world of Māra would be emptied; he therefore urged that Māra's troops attack Shenrab to disturb his meditation.

Garab Wangchug knew it would be difficult to gain victory over Shenrab, so he advised Khyapa to collect billions of demons for this attack. Khyapa collected a demon army, carrying arrows, spears, swords, cakras (cf. sudarśanacakra of Viṣṇu), maces (Tib. *sgyog chen*) and other weapons called gZu ba (unknown), and he attacked the Barpo Sogye palace.[123] Despite the ferocious attacks of Khyapa, Shenrab remained concentrated in meditation. All arrows shot at him turned into flowers, the stones and the spears turned into precious jewels, the maces into wheels of light, other weapons into divine musical instruments and even Māra's evil mind transformed into a loving mind. Witnessing this defeat, the father of Khyapa Gyalag Thoje[124] surrendered himself to Shenrab, and became a monk. Yet, Khyapa did not give up his challenge (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 105–106).

A similar story can be found in the *rGya cher rol* pa (pp. 296–309; Bays

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[122] The nine-stacked swastika mountain is believed to be the axis of the land of Olmo Lungring, the birth-place of Shenrab Miwo.

[123] According to the *mDo 'dus*, the Barpo Sogye palace is the home where Shenrab was born. But, according to this passage, it is also the place where Shenrab was meditating during Māra's attack. We know from the *mDo 'dus* that Shenrab left this palace to embrace a solitary life, and therefore his meditation in the palace is impossible. This indicates how the stories in the *mDo 'dus* often are inconsistent.

[124] According to the *mDo 'dus* (p. 92, 107), Gyalag Thoje (Tib. *rgya lag thod rje*) was the father of Khyapa and a son of Māra Garab Wangchug. Compare *rgya lag* with *lag brgya pa* 'having a hundred arms' (Skt. *śatabāhu*) in the *rGya cher rol pa*, p. 303.

1983, p. 461–480) as I shall summarize here. According to the Buddha legend, Māra Pāpīyān, after becoming frightened, assembled his vast army, attendants, captains and gatekeepers. They were addressed and ordered to strike the Bodhisattva who sits alone at the foot of the tree. Māra hurled weapons at the Bodhisattva and even threw mountains, like Mount Meru, but they were transformed into celestial palaces and a canopy of flowers. The list of weapons used is also recorded a little later in the book (*rGya cher rol* pa, p. 310; Bays 1983, p. 480).

> Māra aimed at the Bodhisattva all sorts of frightening weapons: swords, arrows, lances, javelins, stones, spindles, axes, rammers, sharp lightening bolts, clubs, discuses, hammers, uprooted trees, boulders, chains, and iron balls. But no sooner did he throw these weapons than they changed into garlands and canopies of flowers.

As Māra Pāpīyān became frightened and worried about the future of Māra's world, Khyapa also expressed his anxiety and concern about Māra's world being emptied by Shenrab. As all the weapons changed into garlands and canopies of flowers in the *rGya cher rol pa*, in the *mDo 'dus* they also transformed into flowers, jewels and other things.

## THE LATER LIFE

### Achievement, Witness and Rejection

According to the *mDo 'dus* (ch. xiii, pp. 118–19), Shenrab entirely purified *shes bya'i sgrib pa* 'the subtle obscuration'[125] of enlightenment through serious practice and meditation and achieved perfect enlightenment the following morning.

[125] Similar to the Buddhist concept of liberation, 'the subtle obscuration', according to Bon philosophy is the final mental obscuration that needs to be eliminated in order to achieve the enlightened body.

Shenrab's enlightenment was also challenged by Māra Khyapa. Khyapa sceptically challenged Shenrab and asked him to prove that he had achieved enlightenment and to present a witness. Hearing this, the goddess of the earth Tenma (Tib. *brten(brtan) ma*, Skt. *Sthāvarā*),[126] with half of her body rising out of the ground, declared that she was the noble witness and testified that Shenrab had achieved enlightenment.

This story is interestingly similar to that given in the following passages from the *rGya cher rol pa*, in which Māra Pāpīyān expresses scepticism about Śākyamuni Buddha having achieved enlightenment, and the goddess of the earth declares herself to be a witness to this achievement.

> "Then Māra Pāpīyān addressed the Bodhisattva with this verse: "In a previous existence, I freely made an irreproachable offering; to this you are the witness; but you have no witness to offer evidence in your support, and so you will be conquered!" The Bodhisattva replied: "Pāpīyān, this earth is my witness".
>
> Then the goddess of the earth, named Sthāvarā (Tib. *brtan ma*), surrounded by a following of a billion earth goddesses, shook the whole earth. Not far from the Bodhisattva, she revealed the upper half of her body adorned with all its ornaments, and bowing with joined palms, spoke thus to the Bodhisattva: "Just so, Great Beings. It is indeed as you have declared! We appear to attest to it. Moreover, O Bhagavat, you yourself have become the supreme witness of both the human and god realms. In truth, you are the purest of all beings"."[127]

The last events of Shenrab's life described in the *mDo 'dus* (ch. xxiv, pp. 220–22) include his last teaching, his illness, and a ritual for his funeral performed by his

[126] This name of the goddess is given in the *mDo 'dus* on p. 4.

[127] See *rGya cher rol pa* ch. xxi, pp. 310-12 and Bays 1983, pp. 481-82.

disciples. The most noteworthy passage here is the passage regarding a petition made by Khyapa to Shenrab, because of its similarity to a passage found in the *rGya cher rol pa*.

Māra Khyapa tried to convince Shenrab that he had done more than enough to benefit sentient beings and requested that Shenrab leave this world. Shenrab rejected this request, saying that he had only helped a small number of people, and thus he will not leave until he has benefited large numbers of people. Khyapa became embarrassed and ran away upon hearing this response from Shenrab. In the *mDo 'dus* Shenrab was eighty years old when Khyapa proposed that he 'pass beyond suffering' (enter *parinirvāṇa*). Shenrab not only rejected the proposal, but also postponed his death for two years, passing away at the age of eighty two. The reason given for this is that he wanted to pacify the devil of death and to turn Khyapa's negative mind into a positive one.

A similar passage is found in the *rGya cher rol pa*, in which Māra Pāpīyān approached the Buddha and requested that he enter into *parinirvāṇa* and 'pass beyond suffering' (*rGya cher rol pa*, p. 360; Bays 1983, pp. 571).

> [Māra Pāpīyān proposed], "May the Bhagavat enter into Parinirvāṇa! May the Sugata enter into Parinirvāṇa! It is time now for the Bhagavat to pass into Parinirvāṇa!"
>
> [The Buddha replied], "No, Pāpīyān. I will not enter into Parinirvāṇa so long as my monks are not firm, controlled, disciplined, clear-minded, confident, well-versed, and abiding in the Dharma and what is connected with it. No, Pāpīyān, I will not enter into Parinirvāṇa until the renown of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha is solidly established in the world."

As seen here, the Buddha rejected Māra Pāpīyān's request and declared that he would not enter into *parinirvāṇa* until he had firmly established proper discipline for his monks, and his teachings regarding the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha were solidly established in this world. As is evident from this similarity, the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* has utilized these narratives to compose the last events of Shenrab's life. The only important difference is that Shenrab lives eighty-two years; two years more than the Buddha.

## THE EPISODE OF THE FIVE TIGERS

The comparisons made so far have mostly been between the *mDo 'dus* and the *rGya cher rol pa*. However, there is a narrative from the *mDo 'dus*, the parallel of which is found not in the *rGya cher rol pa*, but in the first chapter of the *sKyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* and in the second chapter of the *mDzangs blun*. It is not absolutely certain which one could have been the source of the Bon hagiographical narrative.

The chapter from the *sKyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* (pp. 3–7) runs as follows. I basically paraphrase the translation made by J. S. Speyer (1895, pp. 2–6). It is thus that the Bodhisattva took his birth in a most eminent and mighty family of a Brahmin. He grew up and in a short time he became an expert in all the arts and sciences. Although he obtained prosperity, wealth, distinction and fame, he took no delight in such things. Once, when the Bodhisattva, accompanied by his disciple Ajita, was walking along the caverns of a mountain, he saw a young tigress that could barely move. Her strength being exhausted, her sunken eyes and her emaciated belly showed how hungry she was, and she was regarding her own offspring as food.

On seeing her, the Bodhisattva was shaken with compassion by the suffering of his fellow creature. He sent his disciple to look for some means of appeasing the tigress's hunger immediately. When the disciple went off in search of food, the Bodhisattva considered thus: "Why should I search after meat from the body of another, whilst the whole of my own body is available? Not only is the

getting of the meat in itself a matter of chance, but I should also lose the opportunity of doing my duty." After making up his mind, delighted at the thought that he was to destroy even his own life for securing the benefit of others, he gave up his body and fed the tigress to prevent her from killing her young ones. The tigress rushed hastily upon the lifeless body of the Bodhisattva and began to devour it.

The pattern of the story in the second source, the *mDzangs blun*, is similar to that presented above, but the story line is different. According to the second chapter of the *mDzangs blun* (pp. 275–80), there was a king named Mahāyāna and he had three sons: the eldest Mahānada, the middle son Mahādeva and the youngest Mahāsattva. The youngest son was of a loving and compassionate nature.

Once the three princes went into the forest, they saw there a tigress that had given birth to cubs and was so exhausted with hunger that she was on the point of eating her young. The younger brother thought, "For long, I have been wandering in *saṁsāra*, wasting life and limb, and through attachment, anger and ignorance have brought forth no merit. Now, in order to bring about merit, I shall give my body to the tigress."

As they were returning, the younger brother said to the other two to go ahead, so that he could do something private. He went to the tigress and lied down in front of her, but the tigress was unable to open her mouth to eat. The prince then took a sharp stick and pierced his body. When the blood flowed, the tigress licked it and then ate the prince's body.

The passage in the *mDo 'dus* relevant to the episode of tigress can be found in the section describing the fifth miraculous act of Shenrab, called the miraculous act of instruction (Tib. *rjes su bstan pa*, Skt. *anuśāsana*). As quoted below, there are six lines in total describing two important acts. Only one of these lines describes the episode of the tigress. This single crucial line is missing in the *mDo 'dus* found by Karmay. I will translate all six lines of the two important acts to show their contextual relevance to the episode of tigress, but I will only comment on the one line describing the episode

of tigress.

> "*rjes su bstan pa'i* [128] *cho 'phrul ni/ 'phrog ma* [129] *lnga brgya rtsa* [130] *gcig la/ chang bu byin te sha khrag ni/* [131] *mi za ba'i sdom pa phog/* [132] *stag smad* [133] *lnga la bla(=brla) sha byin/ phyis ni 'brog(='phrog) gnas lnga ru gyur//*" [134]

> "As [the fifth] miraculous act of instruction, the teacher gave a pinch of food (Tib. *chang bu*) to five hundred and one female Yakṣas and bound them to an oath of not consuming flesh and blood. [Shenrab] also gave his thigh-flesh to the five, a tigress and her four cubs. [The place] was later known as the five abodes of the Yakṣas."

Thus, the second miraculous act is that he fed the five tigers with the flesh from his thigh. As I have shown above, this story of feeding the hungry tigress and her cubs is recorded in the *sKyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* and the *mDzangs blun*, which shows that the story was well known in the Buddhist world. It is evident that the Bon episode in the *mDo 'dus* was appropriated from one such Buddhist source. The passage "*stag smeg*

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[128] *mDo 'dus* Karmay: *pa*.

[129] *mDo 'dus*: *'brog mo*; *mDo 'dus* Karmay: *'phrog ma*, and *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal: *phrag ma*. Among the three different words, the second one, *'phrog ma*, makes the best sense in this context, as it refers to a female *yakṣa*, probably a kind of malignant spirit *yakṣiṇī* (see Zhang 1996, p. 1797, cf. Monier-Williams 1899, p. 838, column 3). The other two variants *'brog mo* and *phrag ma* do not make sense here, as *brog mo* means 'female nomad' and *phrag ma(pa)* may refer to 'shoulder'.

[130] *mDo 'dus* Karmay: *rtsa ba*.

[131] *mDo 'dus* reads *la* inplace of *ni*.

[132] *mDo 'dus* Karmay: *sdom pa'i phob*.

[133] Read *stag smeg* in the *mDo 'dus*. The construction of *stag smad* is comparable to *ma smad* (cf. *ma smad* 'mother and child' in Tsenlha 1997; or mother and daughter in Zhang 1996, p. 2047). Therefore, I prefer to translate *stag smad* as 'tigress and her cubs'. I owe this explanation to Geshe Nyima Woser. The numeral *lnga* attached to the phrase *stag smad* indicates that there are five of them, thus it becomes 'a tigress and her four cubs'.

[134] The last two lines are missing in the *mDo 'dus* Karmay. See *mDo 'dus* (p. 200), *mDo 'dus* Karmay (f. 89a) and *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal (f. 88a).

*lnga la bla sha byin*” ‘offered his thigh flesh to five tigers’ that appears in the *mDo 'dus* seems to be a summary of the whole event of the tigress feeding on the Buddha’s thigh flesh, as described in the Jātaka story. However, this passage is not found in the other accounts of Shenrab such as the *gZer mig* and the *gZi brjid*, which seems to suggest that this part of the story was not agreed upon by all Bonpo authors.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have compared those passages from the *mDo 'dus* that have similarities to the legend of the Buddha. It is evident that the life account of Shenrab to a great extent was influenced by the legendary life of the Buddha, since the relevant Buddhist sources studied here predate the *mDo 'dus* and hence have served as prototypes for the account of the life of Shenrab Miwo.

Motifs used in the Buddha legend, such as a white elephant entering the mother’s womb, the blossoming of flowers, the occurrence of other auspicious signs are adopted into the *mDo 'dus*. Remarkably, the birth from the mother’s right armpit after the gestation period of ten months is a faithful rendering of the legend of the Buddha’s birth. Even the events that occurred afterwards, such as the appearance of Brahmā and Śakra, a nāga bathing the baby, the instantaneous growth of lotus flowers where the baby laid his first steps and the prophecy that he would become great teacher simply are restatements of Siddhārtha’s birth story as recorded in the *rGya cher rol pa*.

Shenrab seeing the four incidents, causing him to leave for a solitary life, and even the details regarding the way he left his family, such as the horse he rode and the assistant and the four guardians lifting the hooves of the horse to silently clear the way, are also adopted from the Siddhārtha’s account. Furthermore, meeting a monk who inspired and ordained Shenrab, cutting his hair in front of a self-emerged stūpa, and celestial beings offering sacred clothes and singing auspicious prayers are also traceable to the Buddha legends. The influence of these legends can also be seen in the story of Shenrab carrying out austere practices for

three years, and a girl offering him a bowl of milk upon completion of these practices.

Like Siddhārtha defeated all Māra Pāpīyān's challenges, Shenrab defeated all the attacks and distractions caused by Māra Khyapa during his practice. Shenrab also transformed the magical emanations of mountains, rivers and fire by Khyapa into flowers and transformed Māra's six beautiful daughters, who came there to seduce him, into old ladies. As the earth goddess Sthāvarā attested to the achievement of the Buddha, the earth goddess Tenma (Skt. *Sthāvarā*) also came forth as a witness to Shenrab's enlightenment. Shenrab also rejected Khyapa's request to leave the world and expressed his wish to live longer.

The *mDo dus* also contains similarities to the story of a previous life of the Buddha, found in the Jātakas, specifically in the episode of the five tigers. Although this episode is presented in only one line in the *mDo 'dus*, it is evidently appropriated from the story of a Tigress feeding on the Bodhisattva's thigh flesh described in the Jātaka stories. However, this passage is not found in the other accounts of Shenrab, such as the *gZer mig* and the *gZi brjid*, nor is it found in one of the three versions of the *mDo 'dus*. This suggests that this story was not accepted by all Bonpo authors.

The many similarities between the life account of Shenrab presented in the *mDo 'dus* and the legend of the Buddha are certainly not coincidental. For centuries, Bonpos have considered the legend of the Buddha to be a true account of the life of Shenrab Miwo, and presumably have been largely unaware of this.

Although I have presented many similar passages from the *mDo 'dus* and the *rGya cher rol pa*, I am not trying to defend Hoffmann's thesis that the life account of Shenrab Miwo, in this case in the *mDo 'dus*, is plagiarized (1961; see chapter one above and chapter five later). The early accounts of Shenrab (the *mDo 'dus* and *gZer mig*) were written in a period and context where our present concepts of authorship cannot necessarily be presupposed, therefore one should be very cautious labelling the accounts of Shenrab's life as plagiarized texts.

However, the similarities presented above clearly show that the *mDo 'dus* was influenced by legends of the Buddha as well as by a Mahāyāna Buddhist perspective. Both the *mDo 'dus* and the *rGya cher rol pa* should be considered myths or legends, and fine pieces of literature with a great deal of wisdom to impart.

# CHAPTER FIVE
# SHENRAB MIWO AND THE FOUR KINGS HIS SIX WIVES AND TEN CHILDREN

## INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, we have seen numerous similarities between the accounts of the life of Shenrab Miwo and the life of the historical Buddha. I have not yet discussed the married life of Shenrab. Both Shenrab and the Buddha were married and had children before they engaged in ascetic practices, however, beyond this, other aspects of the descriptions of their lay-lives differ considerably. In this chapter, I will discuss the lay-life of Shenrab, i.e. his relationship to the four kings, his marriage to six wives (four princesses and two goddesses) and the birth of his ten children.

The relationship between Shenrab and the four kings has no parallel in the legend of the Buddha. Here, I will trace the possible sources of these narratives. The four kings are the King of *hos* Dangwa Yiring, the King of *dpo'* Barwe Dronmacan, the magical King Kongtse, and the King of Kongpo Karpo. According to the *mDo 'dus*, these four kings not only became the patrons of the Bon founder, but also his fathers-in-law. Although not all of them were necessarily kings, Bonpos remember them as such and call them *rgyal po* or sometimes *rje*. Both words can literally be translated as 'the king' or 'the lord.'

There is not much evidence that the first two kings (the kings of *hos* and *dpo*) ever existed. There are a few relevant references to these kings in Dunhuang manuscripts, but their names are not recorded in the same way as they are in the *mDo 'dus*. The name of the third king Kongtse evidently derives from the Chinese master Kǒng zǐ (孔子), although the Tibetan and Chinese depictions of this figure are not entirely the same. We can find some historical references to a king named Karpo, and his land Kongpo, in Dunhuang manuscripts and also in an early 9th-century Tibetan inscription (Richardson 1985, p. 66 ff.). The author(s) of the

*mDo 'dus* seems to have appropriated and reinterpreted data on these four kings from various sources.

## THE FIRST KING, AND HIS FIRST WIFE AND THREE CHILDREN

The first of the four kings whom Shenrab Miwo met was called Dangwa Yiring. According to chapter nine of the *mDo 'dus*, this king originally was from the land of Hosmo Lingdrug 'six islands of female *hos*.' Apart from some references to this king in Bon texts, we have no certain information about this land of *hos*.[135] As mentioned in chapter one, Pelliot tibétain 1136 provides us the toponym *hos*, which appears nine times in connection with another toponym *rtsang* (gTsang region in Tibet).[136] However, the toponym *hos* from Pelliot tibétain 1136 is not necessarily the land of *hos* referred to here.

In the *mDo 'dus*, the story of the King Dangwa Yiring begins when the king meets Shenrab Miwo. Several small stories are woven together to form one bigger story, which concludes with the marriage of Shenrab and the *hos* princess. There are clear causal links between the various stories: the appointment of Yikyi Khyeuchung as the official priest leads to the Queen accusing him of impropriety, this accusation causes the Queen's illness, which results in the Queen seeking help from Shenrab, which, eventually, leads to Shenrab taking the *hos* princess as his first wife. I will summarize these four episodes.

### Episode One: Appointing Yikyi Khyeuchung as the Official Priest

The King Dangwa Yiring of *hos* visited the palace of Shenrab Miwo. He offered Shenrab a divine white horse (Tib. *lha rta dkar po*) and requested that he be his

[135] In the *mDo 'dus*, *hos* is sometimes referred to as a family and sometimes as a place. Although both are connected, it is not clear whether the family was named after the land or the land after the family. Bonpos also describe *hos* as a synonym of Bon, but its linguistic background has never been certified. See Martin (1999, p. 265 and p. 294, note 80) for geographical location of the *hos* land.

[136] See Imaeda (2007, pp. 156-57) for the reference "*rtsang ho de hos bdag*" and see Blezer (2008, p. 447ff.) for some interesting discussion on *hos*.

official priest (Tib. *mchod gnas*).[137] The royal family was in need of an official priest to perform ritual services, and also someone they could venerate in order to accumulate merit. Shenrab had to perform a ritual at the Barpo Sogye palace, so he was unable to take the position offered by the King. Instead he assigned his student Yikyi Khyeuchung to serve as the official priest at the King's court, for three years.[138] Yikyi Khyeuchung obeyed this command, out of his loyalty to his teacher, and left for the land of Hosmo Lingdrug. Before he left, Yikyi Khyeuchung said that he shall obey his god-like master's command without any hesitation, even if he commands him to proceed to hell. He added that even demons and evil spirits cannot refute the true word of the teacher. Therefore, he would not refuse even if it would cost him his life; rather he shall do as the teacher has asked (*mDo 'dus*, p. 62).[139]

Yikyi Khyeuchung crossed the Gyimshang river[140] and arrived at the land

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[137] The word *mchod gnas* can literally be translated as 'the place of veneration'. Here, it refers to the priest, who is assigned to perform all ritual duties at the royal court.

[138] The account of Yikyi Khyeuchung recorded in the *mDo 'dus* is controversial. In the *mDo 'dus*, he already was a monk before Shenrab, but other sources (cf. *'Dul ba gling grags*, Khoepung) indicate that he was ordained by Shenrab. In the *mDo 'dus*, his ordained name is Yungdrung Tsugshen Gyalwa, but these two names are also listed separately, as two different people (*mDo 'dus*, p. 126).

[139] A very similar proclamation is recorded in the *bTsun mo bka' thang* (Laufer 1911, p. 47). The *bTsun mo bka' thang* is one of the five texts (titled *bKa' thang sde lnga*) containing legendary stories of Padmasambhava, the foremost Indo-Tibetan Buddhist master who is said to have initiated the tantric practice in Tibet in the 8th-century AD. The *bKa' thang sde lnga* is said to have been discovered in a crystal cave (Tib. *shel gyi brag phug*) in Yarlung in 1285 AD, by a Nyingmapa master Guru Ugyan Lingpa. Blondeau (1971, p. 42) suggests that the collection was possibly discovered between 1368 and 1395 AD. However, the date of the collection largely depends upon the date of Guru Ugyan Lingpa. According to the *Rin chen gter mdzod* and Karmay (1998, p. 95, 228), Guru Ugyan Lingpa was born on 1329 and died in 1360/7. If this information is correct, then the discovery of the collection must be before 1367 AD. Guenther (1996, pp. 1, note 1) attributes this collection to another author named Chokyi Wangchuk (1212-1270 AD), with the discovery date being 1231, but this attribution is less well known.

[140] This name corresponds to the name of the homeland of the Chinese mother of King Trisong Deutsen, who was called Princess Kyimshang (Tib. *gyim shang* or *kyim shing*). Cf. Buton Rinchen Drub 1988, p. 183.

of Hosmo Lingdrug. The people of *hos* welcomed Yikyi Khyeuchung to the Barwa Tsegu palace, and offered their veneration. During the period of his service to the King, Yikyi Khyeuchung, by now a master, resided in the crystal cave called Kada.

We may ask the question why the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* thought that it was appropriate that Shenrab should send Yikyi Khyeuchung in his place.[141] Perhaps it is because the author(s) did not want Shenrab to be subject of the accusations by the queen and the goldsmith (these events are discussed later in this chapter). This might be because Shenrab, as the supreme Buddha of the Bonpos, is supposed to have been able to know the future consequences of his actions. The events that unfolded would not have taken place if it would have been that he had served the king these three years. Another reason might be that Shenrab would not have been able to skilfully solve the Queen's problem if he was part of the problem himself, nor would he have been a suitable husband for the Queen's daughter, Princess Gyalmema.

## Episode Two: Accusation Made by the Queen

One day, when the King and his followers were engaged in battle, Queen Guling Mati of *hos* invited the master Yikyi Khyeuchung for a midday meal. Taking advantage of the situation, the Queen tried to seduce the master. The master ran out of the palace after saying: "desire is a cause of poison and is also like a tree on which suffering grows, therefore one must throw away such illusory physical desires." When the King returned, the Queen pulled out her hair and ripped off her clothes. She lied to the King, saying that the master had apprehended her, when she was serving him a meal, and then ran away after restraining her with a rope. The King believed the Queen's story, but then a parrot reported the truth to the King, that the master was innocent (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 63–64).[142]

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[141] A similar question is raised in Kvaerne 1979, p. 187.

[142] According to the story, Yikyi Khyeuchung asked the parrot before the meal to be his witness.

## Episode Three: The Master Defending His Innocence

On his way to the garden Tsugrumbar, the master visited the house of a goldsmith named Trulgar Gungchu, for a meal. During the meal, the goldsmith's wife stole a gold coin from her husband and hid it. The goldsmith noticed that his gold was missing. His wife told him that the master had stolen it, so the goldsmith ran after him with a knife. The master pointed his mendicant staff (Tib. *hos rus*[143]) towards the eyes of the goldsmith, and through the power of clairvoyance (Tib. *mngon shes*) the goldsmith saw that the coin had been stolen by his own wife. The master touched the goldsmith's knife with his staff and declared that he did not engage in impure actions with Queen Guling Mati, nor did he steal the gold coin, and that if there was any truth in his words then the knife would turn into gold. Thereupon, the knife did turn into gold. When the King of *hos* arrived there, looking for the master, the goldsmith reported what had happened to the King, who then returned to his palace (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 64–66).

## Episode Four: Justice for the Victim and a Resolution

Due to her misbehaviour, the Queen was stricken by leprosy, a disease believed to be caused by nāga spirits in Tibet. Through the power of clairvoyance, Yikyi Khyeuchung visualized her suffering and sent a sorcerer named Kunshe Thangpo to examine the Queen. The sorcerer explained to the King that the Queen's leprosy was inflicted by nāgas, on account of her impurity and her crimes against the master. He recommended that the King invite Shenrab to the palace and let the Queen confess her crime to him.

The King did as he was advised and invited Shenrab, who told Queen Guling Mati that she should confess her crime to Yikyi Khyeuchung himself, as only then would she be relieved from her leprosy. Thereupon, Kunshe Thangpo invited the master and the Queen confessed her crime and prostrated herself before

[143] The *hos rus* is commonly known as *khar gsil* (see Nyima 1998, p. 12).

three hundred goddesses.[144]

After doing this, Queen Guling Mati recovered from the leprosy. This pleased the King of *hos* and he offered his daughter Princess Gyalmema to the Teacher, to take as his spouse.[145] From this marriage Shenrab's first three children were born. They are: Tobu Bumsang, Chebu Trishey[146] and a daughter Shenza[147] Neuchen (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 66–67).

## Parallel Story in Padmasambhava Literature

This story is very similar to an episode recorded in the *bTsun mo bka' thang* (Laufer 1911), which is about a relationship between well-known Tibetan translator from the 8th century, called Vairocana, and the Tibetan Queen Tsepongza, the wife of King Trisong Deutsen. The similarity between these two stories was already noted by A.H. Francke (1928, pp. 8 & 19), when he translated chapters one to eight of the *gZer mig* into English and making this story available to non-Tibetan scholars. This story from the *gZer mig* later was also studied by Hoffmann (1961) and Kvaerne (1979), who also compared the story from the *gZer mig* with that from the *bTsun mo bka' thang*.

One fine morning, Queen Tsepongza sent her husband, her children, and

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[144] A long text containing a prostration prayer, relevant to this chapter, is found in the *gZer mig* (ch. vi) and in the *Klong rgyas*. A similar but shorter text is also seen in the *bTsun mo bka' thang*, which also shows influence of this account.

[145] For a similar motif (identifying a sickness and inviting Shenrab to provide a cure), see the *Klu 'bum nag po* and the Dunhuang Tibetan documents such as Pelliot tibétain 1068, lines 61 ff., Pelliot tibétain 1134, lines 24ff., Pelliot tibétain 1136, lines 46ff. For further references, see Stein 2003b (p. 597ff), who has studied and translated some relevant passages.

[146] Tib. *gto bu*, which literally means 'son of healing ritual', and Tib. *spyad/dpyad bu*, which means 'son of medical diagnosis.' Tobu Bumsang is also known as Tobu Bumse in the *mKhas bzhi mdzod 'grel* (p. 127). The Bonpos remember these two sons to be experts in healing ritual and medical diagnosis; thus they were known by these names. See Gurung (2009) for *gto bu* and *gto* ritual and cf. also Pelliot tibétain 1068, Pelliot tibétain 1134 and Pelliot tibétain 1285 for the *gto* and *dpyad* practices).

[147] The name *gshen za* is also recorded in Pelliot tibétain 1136, line 30, "*rtsang ho de'i hos bdag dang ma yum gyi mtshan gshen za'I gyi myed ma.*"

the servants out of the palace so that she would be alone when Vairocana came on his daily alms-round. She served him a sumptuous meal and then, casting all sense of propriety and shame aside, she threw herself at him, revealing her passion, and begged for his love. Terrified and confused, Vairocana managed to escape. Deeply offended by this act of rejection the queen then tears her clothes, scratches her face, and calls for help, and when at last she is able to still her sobs she tells the King, Trisong Deutsen, a shocking tale of how the monk, on finding her alone, had attempted to ravish her.

Realizing that he can no longer stay at the King's court, Vairocana sadly leaves for a distant forest called Tsugrumbar,[148] where he practices meditation in solitude. However, in order to turn the wicked Queen's thoughts towards religion (read: virtuous conduct), he compels a nāga to enter her body and cause a terrible disease. The efforts of doctors and soothsayers are all in vain. Vairocana then sends the Goddess Palden Lhamo to the King's palace in the form of a female soothsayer (Tib. *'phrul gyi mo ma*) named Kunshe Thingpo. She throws lots, discerns the cause of the disease, and announces that only by inviting Master Padmasambhava and confessing her sins may the Queen be healed. This is done, and Padmasambhava summons Vairocana. The Queen confesses her guilt, and elaborate rituals are performed, with the result that she is cured.[149]

## Similar Motifs in the *mDo 'dus* and the *bTsun mo bka' thang*

A similar motif is applied in both the stories, but they are presented with different characters. In the *mDo 'dus*, it was Yikyi Khyeuchung who was victimized and seduced by Queen Guling Mati of *hos*. In the *bTsun mo bka' thang* it was the monk Vairocana who was seduced by Queen Tsepongza. As a consequence of their misbehaviour both Queens suffered from an illness caused by a nāga spirit. Both

[148] For the same name of the forest, see the *mDo 'dus* (p. 64ff.)

[149] I have borrowed Kvaerne's translation and summary (see Kvaerne 1979), which covers chapters seven to sixteen of the book. The complete story continues until chapter nineteen. See Laufer 1911 for the Tibetan original and German translation.

monks saw the suffering of the Queens and sent a diviner or soothsayer to find a cure.

Another similarity is that the parrot in the Bon story that helped Yikyi Khyeuchung by reporting the truth to the king is said to be an emanation of the sorcerer Kunshe Thangpo.[150] An almost identical name, Kunshe Thingpo, is also mentioned in the *bTsun mo bka' thang*.

Further similarities include the fact that in the Bon story the diviner advised the *hos* King to invite Shenrab Miwo, in the Buddhist legend the diviner advised the King Trisong Deutsen of Tibet to invite Master Padmasambhava. Shenrab's subsequent recommendation to invite Yikyi Khyeuchung is also comparable to Master Padmasambhava's summoning of the monk Vairocana. After the confessions were completed, both masters were offered a princess in return. Shenrab was offered the *hos* princess Gyalmema, and Padmasambhava was offered the princess of Tibet, Trompa Gyen, a daughter of King Trisong Deutsen.

Although they may not be directly linked, I shall mention here yet another parallel story. According to the *bTsun mo bka' thang*, Tibetan Princess Trompa Gyen, who was married to Padmasambhava, bore him two sons. The elder son was not actually a legitimate child from the union of the Princess and her real husband Padmasambhava, but from her union with Māra, who deceived her. Despite this, the son was called Padmasambhava Junior. He was also known as Padmasambhava Gowo in the *bTsun mo bka' thang* (Laufer 1911, pp. 93–95). A similar story appears in the *mDo 'dus*: Shenrab's wife, the Princess of *dpo* Thangmo, was also deceived by Māra Khyapa, and she too bore an illegitimate child who was named Gowo Junior. One can even see the similarity in the names of the two illegitimate children *go bo* and *chung ba* in the Buddhist story compared with *go bo chung* in the Bon story.

[150] There are two different people called Kunshe Thangpo in the *mDo 'dus*. The first one is the sorcerer Kunshe Thangpo (*mDo 'dus*, p. 66, 70) and the second is Tonpa Kunshe Thangpo, the sixth teacher of the past (*mDo 'dus*, p. 32, 34).

Table: Comparison of the Figures from the Two Sources

| *mDo 'dus* (11th century AD) | | *bTsun mo bka' thang* (1285 AD) |
|---|---|---|
| Yikyi Khyeuchung (alias) Yungdrung Tsugshen Gyalwa | Victim | Monk Vairocana |
| Queen of *hos*, Guling Mati | Offender | Tibetan Queen Tsepongza |
| King of *hos*, Dangwa Yiring | King | The King Trisong Deutsen |
| Kunshe Thangpo | Sorcerer | Kunshe Thingpo |
| Teacher Shenrab | Negotiator | Master Padmasambhava |
| Shenrab Miwo and *hos* Princess Gyalmema | Marriage | Padmasambhava and Tibetan Princess Trompa Gyen |
| Māra Khyapa deceived Shenrab's wife | deceived by Māra/Demon | Māra deceived Padmasambhava's wife |
| Gowo Junior | illegitimate child of Māra | Padmasambhava Junior (alias) Padmasambhava Gowo |

## Source of the Motifs

As Hoffmann rightly pointed out half a century ago, the similarity of the narrative motif and composition, as well as the names of the characters, clearly establishes the influence of one text on the other. Hoffmann claims that the legend of Padmasambhava in the *bTsun mo bka' thang* influenced the Bon story because he believed that it was recorded earlier than the Bon story. However, since the Bon version was first recorded in the *mDo 'dus* and the *gZer mig*, both of which were written before the *bTsun mo bka' thang* was discovered, approximately in the late 13th to the early 14th century, it is not possible that the legend of Padmasambhava would be the source of the Bon narrative.

This view was first presented by Anne-Marie Blondeau (1971, pp. 34ff). She discovered many similar passages in the *gZer mig* (chapter x–xii) and the *Lha 'dre bka' thang*, a counterpart of the *bTsun mo bka' thang*. Blondeau concludes from these similarities that it is possible that the Bon narrative recorded in the *mDo 'dus* or the *gZer mig* influenced the story of Padmasambhava in the *bTsun mo bka' thang*. The question still remains, what then was the source of the Bon

narratives? Kvaerne (1979, p. 188) proposed another view, that both the *mDo 'dus* and the *bTsun mo bka' thang* narratives may derive from the motif of 'Joseph and Potiphar's Wife'.[151]

The motif of 'Joseph and Potiphar's Wife' contains the following pattern: a wife of a king or master is attracted to another man and tries to force him to make love to her. When she is rejected, the wife accuses the man of raping her and complains to her husband; as a consequence the king or master punishes the man. It is possible that this motif reached Tibet in some form and evolved as it was told and retold in different contexts. Several texts, including Buddhist sources (*Bandhanamokkha Jātaka* (Pāli Jātaka No. 120), *Mahapaduma Jātaka* (Pāli Jātaka No. 472), *Divyāvadāna*, the Tibetan translation of *mDzang blun* chapter 36 and Pelliot tibétain 943), that contain this motif are discussed in Bloomfield (1923), Kvaerne (1979) and Silk (2008, pp. 172-73). The fact that the similarities between the two Tibetan narratives extend beyond their motifs, suggests that they were derived from an earlier written source. The theme of the later part of the story (see episode four above) shares some features with the theme in Dunhuang documents (see Kvaerne 1979, p. 186 for an outline of the theme, and Stein 1972, p. 237). Unfortunately nothing can be said for certain, as a common source has not yet been identified.

## Marriage and the Birth of Children

Now, one might wonder why this episode was incorporated into the life story of Shenrab Miwo. There is no definitive answer to this question, but I shall present some hypotheses based on the little evidence that is available. It seems that the early Bonpos transmitted the story orally through many generations until the time that the *mDo 'dus* was written. Tibetan Buddhists did the same with the legend of Padmasambhava. The Bonpos may have realized that this story was a good way to demonstrate a connection between Shenrab and the *hos* King. Without the meeting

[151] The biblical story appears in Genesis 39.

of Shenrab and the *hos* King, the marriage of Shenrab and the *hos* princess could not have taken place, nor would the birth of their three children. It is particularly important to account for the birth of the two sons, Tobu Bumsang and Chebu Trishay, as they are very important figures in Bon. They are central to the inclusion of *gto* 'ritual practice' and *dpyad* 'medical diagnosis' within the territory of Bon practices.

## The Second King, His Second Wife and Three Children

The second of the four kings is named Barwe Dronmacen and according to the *mDo 'dus* chapter ten he was from the land Tritang Jampa Ling, the Kingdom of *dpo*.[152] The King visited Shenrab to discuss an incident that he had witnessed and that caused him some psychological disturbance. In this part of the story, the author(s) specifically focuses on the idea of 'karmic cause and effect,' which is a fundamental Buddhist concept and a theme of Jātaka stories. I cannot find any particular textual source for the story describing this incident; neither have I found any reference to the King of *dpo* in older Tibetan documents. Nevertheless, I shall summarize the story (*mDo 'dus,* p. 71–73) in two episodes (the ransom ritual and its deadly consequences), and look at the cause of the incident. The ritual story contains an account of a brutal human sacrifice.[153]

### Episode One: Ransoming Ritual

There was a land called Tribuchung (Tib. *khri/khrim bu chung*), neighbouring the Kingdom of *dpo*. The king of that land was Tramo Triöd[154] and the queen was

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[152] See Martin (1999, p. 270) for the location traditionally assumed for Tritang Jampa Ling (see under Tibetan spelling, *Khri dang byams ma'i gling*, no. 50). Cf. the country called Khri gdan/dan listed among the eighteen great countries (Tib. *yul chen bco brgyad*) in the *bsGrags pa gling grags* (p. 5). Martin (1999, p. 262) identifies Khri gdan/dan as Khitan, a country of great power during the early medieval ages in Mongolia and China.

[153] See Karmay's discussion on ransom ritual, referred to in the second footnote below.

[154] See his name *'phra mo khri 'od* in the *mDo 'dus* (p. 71, 73, 134). Three names of a place, which are spelled in a similar way, are recorded in the *mDo 'dus*. They are: *bra ma khri 'od* (cf.

Tritsun Salmo. This royal couple had a son named Trishang, who suffered from an incurable disease. In order to find the cause of the prince's illness, the royal parents consulted the diviner Nyedu Nyelog. The diviner advised them to perform a ransom (Tib. *glud*) ritual,[155] for which a slave child had to be sacrificed in order to save the Prince's life. A slave child named Trishe was chosen to be sacrificed and a *bonpo* named Gyimshang Gongpo from the *spa*[156] family and a butcher called Hadha Nagpo were invited to perform the ritual. The Prince vainly protested against the sacrifice of the slave-child. Since the royal parents decided to perform the ritual in order to save the Prince's life, and even the slave-child himself agreed to the sacrifice, the ransom ritual was confirmed.[157]

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*mDo 'dus*, p. 100), *phra mo khre 'od* (cf. *mDo 'dus* Karmay, f. 48b) and *pra mo khri 'od* (cf. *mDo 'dus*, p. 208 and *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal, f. 44a). The connection between the king and the toponyms is still open for discussion.

[155] A similar type of the ransom ritual is still practiced in both Tibetan Buddhism and Bon, but the difference is that the afflicted person is replaced today with an effigy made of dough (by pretending that the effigy is a real person). The point of this ransom ritual is to exchange the life of the afflicted person for the life of another person (usually of less importance), in case of the malignant spirit that is causing harm. The notion of this ransom ritual is explained with interesting detail in Karmay 1998, p. 339 ff. Karmay refers to IOL TIB J 734, which is transliterated and translated in Thomas 1957 (Part II, pp. 52-102). Karmay also provides us with some Tibetan texts related to this ritual and the episode from the *gZer mig*. The *gZer mig*'s episode is similar to the ransom ritual explained here from the *mDo 'dus*.

[156] The term *bonpo* here is not referring to the follower of Bon, but is probably referring to a particular ritual priest, like in the Dunhuang Tibetan documents. The family of *spa* is well-known in Bon history (cf. Karmay 1972, pp. 9-10).

[157] The names of the people involved in this story mostly contain the word Tri (Tib. *khri*) and are related to the country Khri dang, probably Khri dan or Khitan. For example, the land called *Khri bu chung* which probably means 'small kingdom of Khri (dan)', the royal parents called *Khri 'od* 'the light of Khri' and *Khri bstun* 'the queen of Khri', the prince is called *Khri shang* 'the fragrant (possibly derived from Chinese *shang* 香) of Khri', the slave child is called *Khri shes* 'the wisdom of Khri.' Because of these names, I presume that there was a story available from Chinese literature, probably in Khri dan or Khitan, which was relevant to this ritual story. However, I have no knowledge of any such story to date, and therefore I can only hope to shed some light on this matter in the future.

## Episode Two: Death, Death and More Deaths

Having agreed to perform the ritual, the slave-child was killed like an animal slaughtered for meat. The diviner clasped the right leg, the *bonpo* pulled the right hand and the black Hadha took out the heart of the victim and scattered the flesh in the four directions. This one incident of killing consequently resulted in several deaths. In spite of the ritual, the diviner and the *bonpo* found the Prince dead when they returned to the palace. The diviner and the *bonpo* committed suicide, feeling ashamed of their deeds. The slave boy's parents then killed the butcher Hadha Nagpo, and also killed the royal parents and seized the kingdom of Tribuchung. [158]

These episodes have no practical connection with the King Barwe Dronmacen of *dpo*, but the author(s) linked these episodes to the King by adding a small part to the end, as follows: When the slave parents seized the kingdom of Tribuchung, the King Barwe Dronmacen became envious and gathered three thousand soldiers to attack them. The King and his soldiers killed the parents of the slave child.[159] As the main purpose of the King's visit was to find out the karmic connections behind his own involvement in the killings and to request advice from Shenrab Miwo, as to how best to atone for his sins, this incident connects the King of *dpo'* with Shenrab Miwo.

When the King of *dpo* asked about the causes of the incident — the Prince's incurable disease and the involvement of the parents, diviner, *bonpo*, slave-child, butcher, soldiers and the King himself in this crime — Shenrab replied

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[158] The author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* labeled the nine people involved in the activity as the nine sinful persons (Tib. *sdig can mi dgu*), although not all of them committed a crime.

[159] A similar story recorded in the *gZer mig* (ch. ix) is summarized in Hoffmann (1961, p. 89). Hoffmann took this account as evidence of the existence of 'the Old Bon' practice of human sacrifice (Hoffmann 1961, p. 22). However, this story cannot be considered to be a historical account, let alone as actual testimony of 'Old Bon' practice. In addition, Hoffmann translated 'mo ma' and *mo bon* (see *gZer mig*, p. 227) as a famous wise woman, perhaps reading *mo* as feminine gender. However, *mo* does not necessarily refer to 'female' in this passage. The *mo bon* in this passage should rather be read as the *bonpo* who does *mo* divination, thus it is better to translate as, 'diviner bonpo', without specifying his/her gender.

with a story about the past lives of the prince (see *mDo 'dus*, p. 79). As I will paraphrase in the following, this story clearly reflects on the theory of karmic cause and effect and the existence of life after death, which reflects the Buddhist theory of karma and reincarnation. According to this belief, every single action (Skt. *karma*), either positive or negative, has its corresponding cause and effect. This is not only limited to this life, but also extends to the lives before or after this one. In other words, both Bonpos and Buddhists believe that the present situation is the effect of karma from one's past lives, while one's present actions, both mental and physical, will be the cause of karma in the next life.

## Causes of the Illness and Killings

In his past life, when the prince was young, he had once killed an army chief, but the prince confessed his crime and took a vow with Togyal Yekhyen, a Bonpo Buddha of the past, to abstain from killing in the future. Since the prince confessed and practiced the ten virtuous actions properly, he was fortunate to be born as a prince, but the crime that he had committed in his previous life shortened his life span. The prince's parents, the *bonpo* and the butcher were supporters of the diviner in their previous lives, and they had interfered with the virtuous practice of the Prince. The King Barwe Dronmacen then was a ritual priest (Tib. *'dur gshen*) who performed the funeral of the army chief. Shenrab himself was the funeral ritual deity (Tib. *'dur gsas*) and the three thousand soldiers were all present there as observers (Tib. *ltad mo ba*).[160]

Like in the story of the first king above, the practical connection between Shenrab and the King Barwe Dronmacen is also lacking in this story. However, the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* not only portrayed the King as a funeral ritual priest, but also portrayed Shenrab as the ritual deity in this story. Through this story, the author(s) found a convenient way to demonstrate a connection between Shenrab

[160] The Tibetan word *ltad mo ba* could also be a synonym of another word *ltas mkhan* meaning 'a soothsayer', one who analyses the problem using divination and astrological signs.

and the King of *dpo*.

## Marriage and the Birth of Children

As said above, the fundamental purpose of this whole story is to connect Shenrab and the King of *dpo*. When the King requested Shenrab to offer advice on how best to atone for his own involvement in the killings, Shenrab instructed him to prostrate before all enlightened beings, to provide generous support to all living beings and to remove his negative emotions. Upon hearing this advice from Shenrab, the King declared his intention to confess his sins and promised to follow the virtuous path of the doctrine. The King invited Shenrab to his royal palace to perform purification rituals and offered Shenrab the hand of his daughter Princess Thangmo in marriage. Two sons, called Lungdren and Gyudren, and a daughter called Shenza Neuchung were born. Furthermore, the healing rituals (Tib. *gto sgro*) and the medical texts (Tib. *spyad/dpyad sgro*) were certified as the teachings of Shenrab, and the four sections of Tantric teachings (Tib. *rgyud sde bzhi*)[161] and the ten commentaries of sūtras (Tib. *don mdo bcu*[162]) were transmitted through his two sons Lungdren and Gyudren (*mDo 'dus,* p. 81). Looking closely at the names of the two sons, we can see a conscious effort to construct the names based on the Tibetan term, *lung*, 'sūtra or instruction' and *rgyud*, 'tantra', while the second part of the names, *'dren*, means 'transmitter' (See also *mDo 'dus*, p. 230). This evidently shows that the names are actually descriptions of how they are known by Bonpos later.

Also relevant here is the story of the karmic relationship between Shenrab and the Princess of *dpo*. The author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* (*mDo 'dus*, p. 81) writes a

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[161] The four tantras relevant here are: the tantra of the gods (Tib. *lha rgyud*), the tantra of the *gshen* (Tib. *gshen rgyud*), the tantra of existence (Tib. *srid rgyud*) and the tantra of meaning (Tib. *don rgyud*). This is merely a list and one should not confuse that with other collections bearing the same name. However, I have not yet been able to identify each of these tantras and their connections with Buddhist tantras.

[162] This is probably a collection of ten commentaries on Bon sūtras, although the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* does not provide any further details about this.

romantic movie-like story about the relationship between Shenrab and the Princess, not only in this life but also in their past lives. It is interesting because it explains why the marriage of the two had to take place. According to the *mDo 'dus*, all of the people in the kingdom, including the King and his three thousand men, accomplished liberation, except the *dpo* Prince Powu Lagngen and the *dpo* Princess Thangmo. The Prince's obstacles to achieving liberation were the immeasurable sins (Tib. *'tshams med sdig pa*) committed during five hundred past lives, which had not yet been atoned for. Interestingly, the obstacle for the princess was her engagement to Shenrab in her past life. The story explains that the princess had once thrown flowers at Shenrab in her past life and that they had prayed together to find each other as partners in their next lives. The theory of a positive karmic relationship between Shenrab and the *dpo* princess, enduring life after life, is also reflected in the last part of the story of the King of *dpo*.

## THE THIRD KING, THIRD WIFE AND ONE SON

The third of the four kings is Kongtse Trulgyi Gyalpo and he is said to have been from China. The relationship between king Kongtse and Shenrab Miwo is another example of the inclusion of foreign narratives into the fabric of the *mDo 'dus*. Although Kongtse is depicted differently in Tibet, he can be identified as Kǒng zǐ (Confucius), a philosopher and a thinker from China who lived from 551–479 BCE (Wilson 2002). There are several factors that support this claim.[163]

Firstly, the Tibetan spelling Kongtse (see the table below for different spellings) is a phonetic transcription of the Chinese name Kǒng zǐ. One can compare this with his Latin name Confucius, which reflects the Chinese name Kǒng fū zǐ. There are other examples of early Tibetan authors transcribing Chinese names into Tibetan. For example, *Kong jo* is the name given to two Chinese princesses, who married early Tibetan kings in the 7th and 8th centuries. The

[163] For a detailed discussion about Kongtse and Confucius, I refer the reader to Karmay 1975a, Lin 2007, and Gurung 2009.

Tibetan word *kong jo* is the phonetic transcription of the Chinese word *gōng zhǔ* (公主) for princess. Other examples are the Tibetan words *ha shang* or *hwa shang* for a Chinese monk who visited Tibet in the 8th century or later. They are the phonetic transcriptions of the Chinese word *hé shàng* (和尚) for monk.[164]

Secondly, the Chinese attribute methods of astrology and divination to Kǒng fū zǐ. Bonpos also attribute equivalent Tibetan astrological methodologies to Kongtse, and to his grandson Trulbu Chung.

Thirdly, in many Bon sources Kongtse has an epithet Trulgyi Gyalpo (Tib. *ʾphrul gyi rgyal po*, abbreviated *ʾphrul rgyal*). The toponym *rgya* is sometimes added in front of the name and the epithet, which refers to China.[165] Thus, he is called *rgya* Kongtse Trulgyi Gyalpo. This suggests that the Bonpos recognize that Kongtse originally came from China.

<u>**Table:** Variant Names of Kongtse</u>

| *mDo ʾdus* [166] | *mDo ʾdus* Karmay | *mDo ʾdus* Lhagyal |
|---|---|---|
| Kong tse ʾphrul gyi(s) rgyal po | Kong/Gang tse ʾphrul gyi rgyal po | Kong ts(h)e ʾphrul gyi rgyal po |
| Kong tse rgyal po | Gong rtse rgyal po | Kong tse ʾphrul gyi rgyal po |
| Kong (r)tse ʾphrul rgyal | Kong/Gong (r)tse ʾphrul rgyal | Kong ts(h)e ʾphrul rgyal |
| sgos btsan Kong tse ʾkhrul rgyal | sgos btsan Kong tse ʾkhrul rgyal | sgo btsan Gong tse ʾphrul rgyal |
| rgya Kong rtse ʾphrul gyi rgyal po | lha Gong rtse ʾphrul gyi rgyal po | lha Kong tse ʾphrul gyi rgyal po |
| Kong tse lha | --- missing --- | Kong tse lha |

It is evident that Kongtse was recognized among Bonpos from at least the beginning of the 11th century AD, as his name is recorded in the *mDo ʾdus*. He is

[164] For more references on the Tibetan *ha shang* or *hwa shang*, see Gurung 2009, p. 276 (note 5).

[165] I have argued for this toponym *rgya* referring to China in Gurung 2009, pp. 258-59.

[166] See *mDo ʾdus*, p. 43, 82-84, 87-89, 195, 198, 208 and 218 for these names, and its parallel sections in the other two versions.

also depicted in several different ways in other Bon sources and sometimes even worshipped by Bonpos in order to bring well-being and prosperity. The Bon texts on Kongtse can be classified into two groups. The first group consists of hagiographical and related sources in which Kongtse is portrayed like a king who later became a patron and a father-in-law of Shenrab. The second group of texts, which most likely appeared later than the first group, is concerned with rituals relating to his veneration. I have discussed Kongtse's involvement in Bon rituals elsewhere (see Gurung 2009, p. 263ff.).

## The Story of Kongtse in the *mDo 'dus*

According to chapter eleven of the *mDo 'dus*, Kongtse was a Chinese king[167] who later became Shenrab's patron, father-in-law and his disciple. Perhaps this could be taken to indicate that Kongtse was himself a Bonpo practitioner or converted to Bon. This also suggests that whatever knowledge is attributed to Kongtse, or whatever texts that are attributed to him, were indirectly transmitted from Shenrab Miwo and thus can be considered as Bon texts or knowledge.

Several Bon ritual texts also contain similar depictions of Kongtse as a king, a patron, father-in-law and a disciple of Shenrab. One of these texts is the *Klong rgyas,* which contains a ritual to make offerings to the Buddhas, to accumulate merit for oneself. Even though this text was composed for ritual purposes, it is strongly related to the accounts of Shenrab, like the *mDo 'dus* and the *gZer mig*.[168] This ritual text is the elaborated version of the ritual performed at the behest of Kongtse on an auspicious day, shortly after the castle was completed,

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[167] According to Wilson (2002, pp. 223-24), Kǒng zǐ (孔子) is regarded as a king without a throne who has met Laǒ zǐ (老子). Shenrab Miwo is sometimes identified with Laǒ zǐ (cf. Bjerken 2004, p. 18, Rockhill 1891, pp. 217-18, note 2, Shen 1973, p. 37). The earliest Tibetan scholar who brought up this view is, probably, the 18th-century Gelukpa master Thưukwan (1985). Karmay (1998, p. 111) has already rejected Thưukwan's view.

[168] According to Karmay (1998, p. 170, note 2), the *Klong rgyas* text was extracted mainly from chapter xiv of the *gZer mig*, and other ritual parts from chapters v, vi, ix and xiii.

which I will discuss later. As Karmay (1998, p. 169) has shown, this ritual text has also been used as a funerary ritual from at least the early 12th century AD.[169]

The story of Kongtse in the *mDo 'dus* begins with his previous life. A king named Sai Nyingpo (essence of earth) who lived in the south of Jambudvīpa had three sons. The youngest of them was called Salchog (supreme radiance), who was a noble, kind-hearted and virtuous man. Because of these qualities he was reborn as Kongtse in his next life. Kongtse was born in the Trigo Tsegya palace (ten thousands doors with a hundred peaks) in the city of Trulgyur Kopa on the island Gyalag Odma, located to the west of Olmo Ling. His father was Kadama Ser Od and his mother was Mutri Seoma. In the Mukhyu Dalpa Sea, he built an extraordinary castle as his most important contribution. The first half of the castle was built with the help of a nāga and a demon and the second half was completed with the help of *phya* god Antse (Kengtse in the *gZer mig*), who descended from the land of *phya*. According to the *mDo 'dus*, the nāga (probably the chief) and the demon were the two brothers of Kongtse in his past life and the other two sons of King Sai Nyingpo. They were reborn in their next life as a black nāga and a demon, because of the inexcusable crimes that they committed. One chopped off his father's head and the other sliced off his mother's breasts. However, their joint prayer to help their youngest brother (i.e. Kongtse) paid off and they were able to help him even though they were born as non-humans (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 82–83).

As mentioned above, according to the *mDo 'dus*, the most important contribution of Kongtse was building a castle in the middle of the sea, which became a holy object of veneration for Bonpos.[170] However, he had gone through many difficulties to complete this task. The author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* does not give all the details regarding why was it so important for Kongtse to build this castle in an almost impossible location, and what kind of difficulties he had to face

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[169] Since the main purpose of the ritual is to earn merit for a next life, the Bonpos seem to have found this text suitable as a funerary text.

[170] Karmay (1998, p. 182) has discovered a similar story in the Chinese Dunhuang document, PC 3883.

during the construction. Since the *mDo 'dus* presents only a brief account of the events, I shall take the relevant details from the *gZer mig* chapter xiii (cf. Karmay 1998, p. 171ff.).

According to the *gZer mig*, Kongtse was born with many special qualities and features. Most noticeably, both his palms were filled with marks of thirty magic letters (Tib. *kong rtse*, alt. *gab tse*), therefore he was named Kongtse Trulgyi Gyalpo 'Kongtse, the magical king'. At the age of nine, he prayed to the four primary Buddhas of Bon to fulfill his wishes. These wishes were: to marry the *gnyan* girl Karmo Odmasal (*gnyen* lady Odmasal in the *mDo 'dus*), to have three sons and two daughters, to harvest five hundreds sacks of rice from his fields, and to obtain thousands of livestock before he reached the age of twenty-five. His prayers were answered and all his wishes were fulfilled by the age of twenty-five, thus he was known to be a very fortunate man. Even so, his mother covetously asked him to pray for more wealth, animals, beautiful wives, and hundreds of children. Kongtse replied to his mother, saying that all of those things were illusory, that they only cause worldly suffering and have no meaning for a next life. Instead, he wanted to pursue a path that would not only give him pleasure in his current life, but also be useful in his future lives. Therefore, he promised his mother that he would build an extraordinary castle in the middle of the sea, so that people could worship this castle to accumulate merit.

Due to the difficult nature of this task he had to summon supernatural forces to carry out the work. Kongtse managed to summon demonic forces to build the castle, but he was bound by them to keep this activity secret from his family. The demonic forces manifested one hundred figures, all looking identical to Kongtse, who carried out the construction work. Nevertheless, Kongtse did not keep the project secret from his parents because he was worried that his parents would be anxious or even die during his long absence from the palace. Eventually, his wife and children became worried about his absence, which forced Kongtse's mother to reveal his whereabouts to his wife. When the wife and children

unexpectedly showed up at the construction site, the demons accused Kongtse of breaking his promise and fled, leaving the construction only half finished. Disappointed by this turn of events, he decided to leave and to wander through his entire kingdom without a specific destination.

In the above story, the author of the *gZer mig* provides three reasons for Kongtse building an extraordinary castle in the middle of the sea. Firstly, as he told his mother, he wanted to do something meaningful in this life. Secondly, he wanted to pursue a path that would not only give him pleasure in this life, but also in his future lives. Thirdly, he wanted to build something that people could worship to achieve merit. However, his first attempt to build the castle was interrupted, because he did not keep the task secret from his family. Consequently, the workers left the construction project unfinished and Kongtse was in a very difficult situation.

According to the *mDo 'dus* (p. 85), Kongtse met a little boy, who was an emanation of the *phya* god Antse Lenme (Tib. *phya an tse len med*, cf. *phya* Kengtse), who came down from the land of *mgon btsun phya*[171] to fulfill the virtuous will of Kongtse. He asked the boy to help him finish building the castle. Together with gods, nāgas and semi-gods, the little boy helped Kongtse to complete the task of building this extraordinary castle in the middle of the sea.[172] This castle was named Karnag Trasal (Tib. *dkar nag bkra gsal* 'white black vividly

[171] *mGon btsun phya* is probably to be understood either as a deity or merely a mythical figure, as given in the Dunhuang documents. See Pelliot tibétain 1134 and IOL TIB J 731, in which *mgon tshun phywa'* and *mgon tshun gtings na rje'* are described as father and son. The name is also spelled as *mgon chun phva*, *mgon phywa*, *mgon tsun* (in Pelliot tibétain 1043) and *mgon btsun ni phya* (in IOL TIB J 739). Cf. also Stein 2003, p. 601.

[172] According to the *mDo 'dus*, ch. xi, the features of the temple are as follows, "the base of the temple is very solid, as it is built by demons; the middle part is glorious, as it is built by a powerful god; the interior is beautiful, as it is painted with magic by the nāgas; the design is wonderful, as its architect is the wise *phya*; the construction was successfully completed, as it was carried out by a fortunate human being; and the temple is outstanding (Tib. *byin brlabs rgyas*), as it is blessed by the enlightened ones.

clear’).[173]

Although the author(s) of the *mDo ’dus* does not present the details about the meeting between Kongtse and the little boy, as they are found in the *gZer mig*, he does provide some important descriptions that relate to this event. According to the *mDo ’dus* (p. 84), the little boy was wearing a woollen cloak (Tib. *tsi ber*) and holding a conch rosary (cf. crystal rosary in Karmay 1998, p. 172) and he came down from the land of *mgon btsun phya*. This boy acted as a judge, when there was a dispute between gods and demons over construction tasks. The second divine boy (Tib. *lha bu*) was wearing a robe of ibex skin and carrying a golden sword. The third nāga boy was wearing a white conch-like turban (Tib. *dung sprul thor gtsug can*). There is also a passage about someone asking questions to the little boy with the cloak, which is similar to a conversation in the *gZer mig* between Kongtse and the little boy. As Karmay (1998, p. 171) suggests, the story in chapter thirteen of the *gZer mig* about Kongtse meeting with the three little boys is adapted from the similar story expounded through the dialogue between the Confucius and the boy Xiang Tou, which we find preserved in Pelliot tibétain 992 and Pelliot tibétain 1284 (Soymié 1954).

## Shenrab and Kongtse

The construction of the castle not only made the meeting of Kongtse and Shenrab possible, but also brings them into a family relationship and a relationship as teacher and disciple. Shenrab Miwo played no specific role in the story of Kongtse presented above. Shenrab enters into the scene only after the castle has been completed. Kongtse invites Shenrab to perform the inauguration and the consecration ritual of the castle. Kongtse also requested Shenrab to teach him the five great miracles (Tib. *cho ’phrul*), which are the supreme methods used to help

[173] Traditionally, Bonpos interpret the ‘white-black’ as referring to the gods and demons that helped Kongtse to build the castle.

people and to pacify evil beings.[174] In return for the ritual performed and the teaching given by Shenrab, Kongtse offered his royal authority (Tib. *rgyal srid*). Kongtse also offered his daughter, Princess Trulgyur, to Shenrab, to take as his wife, which united them in a family relationship. The union of Kongtse's daughter and Shenrab bore a son named Trulbu Chung, who studied Bon astrology (Tib. *gtsug lag rtsis*) with his father and became an expert in this science (*mDo 'dus*, p. 89).

Although this family relationship between Kongtse and Shenrab is unlikely to be a historical fact, it has come to play a significant role in the development of Bon. The inclusion of Kǒng zǐ in the historical narrative of Bon has expanded the territory of the Bon teachings. For example, Bonpos claim that astrology, which has been attributed to Kongtse in a number of Tibetan sources, actually originated from Bon.

## THE FOURTH KING, HIS FOURTH WIFE AND ONE MORE SON

The fourth king who met Shenrab Miwo is the King of Kongpo, named Karpo. The relationship between Shenrab and this King is presented through a very brief account given in chapter twelve of the *mDo 'dus* (pp. 101–02), and a summary in chapters six and twenty-three of the *mDo 'dus* (p. 43, p. 218).

According to the *mDo 'dus* (pp. 101–02), the story of the King of Kongpo begins with Māra Khyapa's attempts to deceive Shenrab. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, Shenrab faced many deceptive tricks by Māra. Māra Khyapa sent his sons to steal Shenrab's horses. With the stolen horses, they fled to Kongpo, the land of Kongje Karpo. Shenrab followed Māra's sons and travelled to Kongpo, in order to get his horses back.[175]

[174] Five great miracles in the *mDo 'dus* (ch. xxi) are: miracle of nature (Tib. *rang bzhin*), of blessing (Tib. *byin gyis brlabs pa*), of magic power (Tib. *rdzu 'phrul*), miraculous display (Tib. *rjes su bstan pa*), and preserving the teaching for future (Tib. *bstan pa rjes bzhag*).

[175] The author of the *gZer mig* (p. 493: "*bod srin po'i rigs dbang du bsdu ba dang/ bdud dregs pa can gyi rigs 'khor du bcad par dgongs nas/ rta yi rjes su byon no/*") interpreted this visit of Shenrab to Kongpo as an effort not mainly to get his horses back, but to tame the Kongpo people.

This journey of Shenrab to Tibet by later Bonpo historians is considered to be one of the most important events in Bon history. Bonpos maintain that during this first visit to Tibet Shenrab taught fundamental Bon ritual practices to the people of Kongpo.[176] These claims regarding Shenrab's visit to Kongpo and the teachings he gave on ritual practices could be based on the connection between these rituals and the land of Kongpo described in the Dunhuang documents.[177]

Unlike the meeting with the other three kings that I discuss above, Shenrab's meeting with the King of Kongpo was merely an accident. According to the *mDo 'dus*, it is the stolen horses that made this meeting possible. However, this meeting also resulted in a family relationship between them. Shenrab not only managed to get his stolen horses back, but he also took the Kongpo princess Tricham as his wife. According to the *mDo 'dus*, the union of Shenrab and the Kongpo princess bore a son named Kongtsha, the grand-son of Kongje Karpo. He is also known as Kongtsha Wangden or Yungdrung Wangden in later Bon sources and was said to be born in the Silver castle in Khyunglung (Tib. *khyung lung rngul mkhar*).[178] According to Shardza (Karmay 1972, pp. 5–6, 132–33), the lineage from this son of Shenrab continues until today, and also includes a very crucial Bonpo figure called Shenchen Luga (996–1035 AD), one of the early Bonpo *gter ston* 'text discoverers'.

We are able to determine from the Tibetan Dunhuang documents and the Kongpo inscription (Richardson 1985, 66 ff.) that the King of Kongpo was none

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[176] Cf. *gZer mig*, p. 497, "*bon du lha gsol ba dang/ 'dre mchod pa gnyis kyi lung phog/ yas stags su shing rtsi ban bun dang/ zhugs shing dang gser skyems bstan/*".

[177] In reference to Karmay and Ramble, Blezer has developed a similar thesis in a forthcoming article on Myi yul skyi mthing, in which he argues for a possible proto-heartland of Bon near Kongpo (Blezer forthcoming 2011).

[178] According to the *mDo 'dus*, this Silver castle in Khyunglung was built near Lhari Gyangdo by Shenrab on his way back from Kongpo. For more about this castle, see Blezer (2007 and forthcoming *PIATS*).

other than Kongje Karpo, the King of Kongyul Drena.[179] According to the inscription, Kongje Karpo, alternatively written as Kong Karpo or Karpo Mangpo Je, was a contemporary of the King Trisong Deutsen (8th century AD). He was a descendant of Nya khyi (elsewhere called Nya khri),[180] one of the three sons of mythical King Drigum Tsenpo, and he was exiled to Kongpo.[181] As Blezer (2008) pointed out, the account of the King of Kongpo as presented in the *mDo 'dus* is most likely constructed on the basis of fragmentary records of this historical figure and adapted to fit the narrative of the life of Shenrab Miwo.

## TWO MORE MARRIAGES AND TWO MORE SONS

Apart from the four marriages in the *mDo 'dus*, discussed above, Shenrab is said to have married two other women. One marriage was to his sweetheart Lhaza Gungdrug, a lady from the land of *mgon gsum phya*[182] and the second was to the divine lady Ngangdrug Legpa. A brief account of these two marriages is given in chapter six of the *mDo 'dus* (pp. 42–43). They seem to have taken place after Shenrab's second marriage with *dpo'* Princess Thangmo. However, there is no narrative of these two marriages in the *gZer mig* or in any other account of Shenrab's life, thus not all Bonpo authors agree that these two extra marriages took place.

Another relevant section about the marriage of Shenrab to a lady from the land of *mgon gsum phya* is recorded in chapter twelve of the *mDo 'dus* (p. 99–

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[179] For the toponyms, *rkong yul bre sna* or *rkong yul/g.yug*, the land of King Karpo, see *gZer mig* (p. 507) and the Dunhuang documents Pelliot tibétain 1052, Pelliot tibétain 1060, Pelliot tibétain 1285 and Pelliot tibétain 1286, Pelliot tibétain 1288 and IOL TIB J 734. The name *rkong rje dkar po* and *rkong dkar po* is found in Pelliot tibétain 1060, Pelliot tibétain 1285, Pelliot tibétain 1286, Pelliot tibétain 1287 and IOL TIB J 734.

[180] Haarh (1969, p. 158 and 440, note 60) has explained this interchange of *nya khri* and *nya khyi*.

[181] In Pelliot tibétain 1287, cf. lines 50-51, "*nya khyi ni rkong dkar po lagso*", *nya khyi* is identified as *rkong dkar po*. For further Dunhuang references on *nya khyi*, see Haarh 1969 (p. 401-5).

[182] Cf. *mgon btsun phya*, *supra*, in footnote 171.

100). This chapter is actually about deception carried out by Māra Khyapa on Shenrab and his family. According to the story, Shenrab was once serving the *phya* gods. Taking this opportunity, Khyapa transformed himself into a son of a god and went to deceive *dpo* Princess Thangmo. He maliciously told the Princess that Shenrab had married a daughter of *phya*. Khyapa even advised her to set bags containing thousands of ritual and medical texts on fire, and let the smoke go to the land of *phya*, in order to get Shenrab's attention. Following the advice of Māra, the *dpo* Princess set the collection of texts on fire. Fortunately, the two eldest sons of Shenrab, Tobu and Chebu, managed to save the five heroic syllables and a few hundred texts of healing rituals, but a hundred thousand other ritual and medical texts were burnt. This part of the story implies that the collection of Bon texts once was very rich, but was destroyed by Māra through this incident, which many Bonpos still believe today. I have been unable to find any parallel story elsewhere from which this particular narrative could have been derived.

Shenrab also had a son from each of these two marriages. The son from the first marriage was named Mucho Demdrug, who was later appointed as the successor of Shenrab and taught Bon for three years after his father's death (see *mDo 'dus*, p. 231). In contradistinction to all other Bon sources, only the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* has recorded that Mucho Demdrug was a son of Shenrab.[183] The son from the second marriage was named Oldrug Thangpo. Not much is known about him in Bon sources, except that he also taught Bon for three years (see *mDo 'dus*, p. 231) after his half-brother Mucho Demdrug.

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[183] According to the *Srid rgyud kha byang chen mo* (p. 326), Mucho Demdrug was the son of another *dmu* King Thumthum Nalme. The time of his birth was long after Shenrab had passed away, and he was a bodyguard of the King Yabla Daldrug, the grandfather of the King Nyatri Tsenpo (*Srid rgyud kha byang chen mo*, p. 341). However, there are at least four different figures with this name recorded in Bon texts: 1) son of Shenrab, 2) son of the *dmu* King Thumthum Nalme, 3) one of the thirty-three *bonpo* priests, and 4) the manifestation of Shenrab to subjugate the *preta* realm (see the six Bon deities *supra*, in footnote 107). Whether these four are all the same figure is still an open question. Bonpos might claim that they are different, but there are numerous examples in Bon texts of one name evolving into many.

Table: Shenrab Miwo's Wives and Children

| Wife | Children |
|---|---|
| 1. *hos* Princess Gyalmay<br>(see chapter vi & ix) | 1. Tobu Bumsang (son)<br>2. Chebu Trishe (son)<br>3. Shenza Neuchen (daughter) |
| 2. *dpo'* Princess Thangmo<br>(see chapter vi & x) | 1. Lungdren (son)<br>2. Gyudren (son)<br>3. Shen Khyeuchung (daughter) |
| 3. Lhaza Gungdrug<br>(see chapter vi) | Mucho Demdrug (son) |
| 4. Seza Ngangdrug Legpa<br>(see chapter vi) | Oldrug Thangpo (son) |
| 5. Kongpo Princess Tricham<br>(see chapter vi, xii, xxiii & xxiv) | Kongtsha (son) |
| 6. Kongza Trulgyur<br>(see chapter vi, xi & xviii) | Trulbuthung (son) |

The *mDo 'dus* describes that the fifth son of Shenrab, Mucho Demdrug, was an expert in *mu me bon* 'unlimited teachings of Bon', and also knew countless tales (Tib. *cho rab*). He held a crooked white stick (Tib. *dung gis ldem shing*) and possessed six types of *mngon shes* (Skt. *abhijñā*, 'clairvoyance'). In spite of this account of Mucho Demdrug as Shenrab's son, elsewhere in the *mDo 'dus* (p. 54), he is also listed among the thirty-three Bonpo priests (Tib. *'dul ba'i bon po*) and called *srin bon dmu cho* (alt. *sri bon mu co* or *srid bon mu cho*).[184] The name *srid bon mu cho* may be read as the abbreviated form of the name *srid pa'i bon po mu cho ldem drug*. The relationship between Shenrab and *srid pa'i bon po* Mucho Demdrug is also given in the earlier Bon text *Klu 'bum nag po*, which is possibly the source of the hagiographical account. However, this relationship is not that of father and son, but of ritual master and client. I will here present a summary of the

[184] For other references to this name, cf. *srid pa'i bon po* in the *Klu 'bum nag* po, ch. 1, and also cf. *mu cho ldem drug srid pa gung sangs yul* in the *mDo 'dus*, p. 199.

story from the *Klu 'bum nag po* (pp. 20–27).

There was a series of illnesses, caused by nāgas, that affected many different people, and Tonpa Shenrab was invited to cure them. One of the victims was Mucho Demdrug, who was a funeral ritual priest. When *srid pa'i bon po* Mucho Demdrug fell ill, he first received a treatment for Phlegm (Tib. *bad kan*). But his illness worsened, causing a lot of pain in his whole body and his hands and legs became thin and weak. There was no physician who could cure his illness. At that moment, Tonpa Shenrab miraculously emanated Yikyi Khyeuchung (a little boy of heart) and sent him to Mucho Demdrug. After some serious discussions with Yikyi Khyeuchung, Mucho Demdrug became convinced that his illness was caused by mistakes he committed in the past and that the only cure was to confess his mistakes to the nāga whom he had disturbed when he performed a funeral ritual. Mucho Demdrug agreed and conducted the ritual to confess his wrong deeds, under the guidance of Shenrab, and consequently he was cured from his illness.

## CONCLUSION

The discussion in this chapter has shown that the life account of Shenrab Miwo not only derives from the legend of the historical Buddha, but also from other non-Buddhist stories in the Dunhuang documents and in the *Klu 'bum nag po*, as well as oral and literary stories similar to the motif of the story of Joseph and Potiphar's Wife.

It is evident that the narratives concerning the four kings were appropriated from various sources. For instance, part of the story in the King of *hos* section is influenced by the motif similar to that which appears in the story of Joseph and Potiphar's Wife; while the later part and the names are constructed and borrowed from older Tibetan documents (cf. Pelliot tibétain 1136 and *Klu 'bum nag po*). The second section, King Barwe Dronmacen of *dpo'*, mainly describes Buddhist karmic theory, but also contains themes found in older Tibetan documents, including

sacrificial ritual. The importing of astrology and old Tibetan rituals through Kongtse is evident in the third section, whereas the fourth section uses the King of Kongpo to locate the narrative within both a geographic and historical Tibetan landscape. In brief, these aspects show that when composing the account of Shenrab Miwo the author(s) borrowed many different motifs and stories from other, earlier sources.

The marriage stories seem to have allowed early Bonpo authors to claim that Buddhist teachings and other disciplines like medicine and astrology originate from Bon and were taught by Shenrab Miwo. Bonpos still claims this today. As we can see from the discussion above, the children born from the different marriages play an important role in justifying these claims. These family relationships between Shenrab and the four kings are of key importance in Bon.

In addition, the stories of Shenrab's marriages bear some resemblance to the marriage stories of the early Tibetan kings of Yarlung (cf. Sakya 1993). For instance, the number of wives that Shenrab married is similar to the number of concubines that the early Tibetan kings had, and those also mostly came from outside the kingdom. This motif might suggest the approximate period of the marriage narratives in the *mDo 'dus*. As one of the main reasons that Tibetan Kings obtained so many wives was to secure and extend their political ties with neighbouring principalities, Shenrab's multiple marriages also seem to have been a convenient strategy to extend the religious 'territory' of Bon.

# CHAPTER SIX
# SHENRAB'S ANCESTORS AND OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS

## INTRODUCTION

There is an abundance names in the *mDo 'dus*. Many of these belong to members of Shenrab's family, including his ancestors. The author(s) seems to have considered these family names to be equally important to the other material contained in the *mDo 'dus*. It is evident that this life account of Shenrab Miwo could not have been successfully completed without them. One might wonder where the author(s) got these names from. I will try to answer this question by tracing the possible origins of these names. I have already discussed some of these family members, including the wives and children, in the previous chapter. Here I will discuss the name of Shenrab's father, his mother and her family background, his ancestors and his brothers.

## FATHER GYALBÖN THÖKAR, *BON PO* OF MEN & GODS

According to the *mDo 'dus*, the father of Shenrab, Gyalbön Thökar, was the son of *dmu* King Lankyi Thempake and Queen Ngangdrangma.[185] The queen was a daughter of *phya* named Ade Khyapa. This indicates that the boy was a grandson of *dmu* and *phya*, which in old Tibetan documents and another Tibetan historical source (*rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*, p. 233) are considered to be two important clans[186]. In this very brief account in the *mDo 'dus* (p. 55), we can see

[185] On the other hand, the *'Dul ba gling grags* and *rTsa rgyud nyi sgron* recorded the name of Gyalbön Thökar's mother as Lhaza Trulmo. Shardza (1985, p. 16) gives us yet another similar name, Ngangdragma, who was the lady of Sije Drangkar (an ancestral member of *dmu* lineage) and was also called *lha za*, 'a divine princess'.

[186] A dialogue between the ruler of *dmu* and an envoy of *phywa* (alt. *phya*) is described in Pelliot tibétain 126 (lines 104-68). In this text, a man from the *phywa* is asking a man from the *dmu* to rule the land of the black-headed men, which latter generally refers to Tibetans (for a detailed

several names being identified as those of Shenrab's parents and grandparents. These also include the names of Shenrab's maternal grandparents, although their family name is not recorded. I will discuss the grandparents further in the ancestor section, later.

In order to trace the possible sources of the father's name, I shall first look closely at the structure of his name. His name is written in at least five different ways in the *mDo 'dus*, including some of them that probably are modified from *mi* 'human' to *myes* 'grandfather'. For the analytical discussion of this chapter, I prefer to present those names in transliteration instead of phonetic transcription. The names are:

1) *Mi bon lha bon rgyal bon thad/thod dkar*,[187] and its shorter version *rgyal bon thod dkar* [188] are the most well known names among the Bonpos. To translate them literally, *mi bon* means 'human bon,' *lha bon* 'divine bon,' *rgyal bon* 'royal bon,' and *thod dkar* means '[wearing a] white turban'.
2) *Mi bon lha bon rgyal po thod dkar* and its short version *rgyal po thod dkar*,[189] in which *rgyal bon* is replaced with *rgyal po* 'king'.
3) *Myes bon lha bon rgya bon thod dkar*,[190] in which *mi bon* is replaced with *myes bon* 'grandfather bon' and *rgyal bon* is replaced with *rgya bon* 'Chinese Bonpo'.
4) *Me(or mes) bon lha bon rgyal bon thod dkar*.[191] There is an alternative of *me bon* literally 'fire bon' with *mes bon* or *myes bon* in this name. The word *mes* is the alternative spelling of *myes*.

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discussion, see Karmay 1998, p. 178-80, note 31). This *dmu* and *phya* family relationship is also maintained in the *mDo 'dus*.

[187] See *mDo 'dus*, p. 41 and *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal, f. 18a, f. 24a for this name.

[188] See *mDo 'dus*, pp. 52, 55, 59, 105, 119, 191 and 203 and *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal, ff. 22b, 24b, 26a, 46a, 52a, 84a and 89b.

[189] See *mDo 'dus* Karmay, f. 28a, and see *mDo 'dus* Karmay, ff. 26b, f. 28a and 29b for the short name.

[190] See *mDo 'dus* Karmay, f. 21a.

[191] See *mDo 'dus*, p. 55.

5) *Yab myes rgyal bon thod dkar*.[192] In this name, *mi bon* or *myes bon* is replaced with *yab myes* 'father and grandfather', thus this name clearly shows Gyalbön Thökar as the father (of Shenrab) and the grandfather (probably of Shenrab's son as well as, metaphorically, of Shenrab's followers). All the instances of the word *bon* in these names seem to be an abbreviated form of *bon po* (cf. *mi'i bon po*, *lha'i bon po*, *rgyal po'i bon po* and *rgya'i bon po*).

All the above names are only present in the *mDo 'dus*. There is a slightly different name, *mi bon lha bon yo bon rgyal bon thod dkar*, recorded in the *gZer mig* (p. 15). Here, an extra word *yo bon* is added, the meaning of which is not clear to me, unless it is derived from *ye bon* 'primordial bon' or from *yog bon*, which is a name that appears among the thirty-three *bonpos* (see appendix 2). Nevertheless, it corresponds with *yo phyi*, a part of the name of Shenrab's mother, which I will discuss later. The name of Shenrab's father is one example of a name that seems to have been derived in different ways from old Tibetan sources.

## References to *mi bon lha bon rgyal bon*

Among the old Tibetan sources, I will first look at some Tibetan documents preserved in Dunhuang. Those documents were accessible only until the early 11th century due to closure of the caves in 1002 AD (Rong 2000, p. 274) or in 1035 AD (Stein 2003b, p. 591) and have become accessible again since their discovery in the beginning of the twentieth century. I assume that some fragments of texts or oral traditions that correspond to the documents preserved in Dunhuang probably were available elsewhere and Bonpos may have had access to these. To my best knowledge, these fragments and traditions are not available anymore today, apart from what has been preserved in Dunhuang sources and what may be reflected in some of our Shenrab narratives. Based on this assumption, I shall try to determine how the name of Shenrab's father relates to the names found in the Dunhuang

[192] See *mDo 'dus*, p. 203, *mDo 'dus* Karmay f. 90b, *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal, f. 89b.

documents. As stated above, the first part of the name of Shenrab's father is *mi bon lha bon rgyal bon*, which is recorded in Pelliot tibétain 1134 (Imaeda 2007, p. 149) as follows.

> "*[119] bu ni lha'i bu tsha ni srin gyi tsha'/ myi bon/ lha'i bon/ rgya bon brim tang gis/ rgyal tag brgyad [120] / ni / gnam las / bre*[193]*[/] se [mo] gru bzhi ni / sa la / bchas / …*"
>
> "The son is the son of a god and the nephew/grandson is the nephew/grandson of a demon, [he who is] the human *bon*, the divine *bon* and the rgya *bon* called *brim tang* connects the eight *rgyal* cords[194] in the sky and constructed *se [mo] gru bzhi* 'four sided tomb' on the earth."[195]

As shown in the above passage, there is a long phrase *myi bon lha'i bon rgya bon brim tang*. This phrase appears to be either a description of one person called *brim tang* (the last part of the phrase), or a description of three different people judging from the punctuation marks separating them into three parts in the original document. In the latter case, I would take *myi bon*, *lha'i bon* and *rgya bon brim tang* separately. Alternatively, this phrase can also be read as a description of two persons (*myi bon lha'i bon* and *rgya bon brim tang*) as presented in the late 13th-century Tibetan history, *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* written by Khepa Dewu, which I will discuss little later.

It is well known that *myi* is an alternative spelling for *mi* and thus *myi bon*

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[193] There may be a different interpretation of the word *bre*, but here I translate it in the sense of *bre ba* which means 'to connect', 'to display' or 'to weave' as defined in Zhang (1996, p. 1906-07, see *gnam la 'ja' tshon bre ba*) and in Bon ritual texts.

[194] In this context, I prefer to translate *rgyal t(h)ag* as 'a protection cord belonging to *rgyal* spirit', as *rgyal* is, alternatively, one of the eight classes of gods and demons (Tib. *lha srin sde brgyad*). By doing so, *rgyal* spirit is assigned to remove obstacles to the funerary ritual activities.

[195] Cf. also Stein 2003b, p. 601-2, for *se [mo] gru bzhi* and *rgyal t(h)ag*.

for *mi bon*.[196] Similarly, *rgya bon* seems to be an alternative spelling of *rgyal bon* in the *mDo 'dus*, although the literal meanings of *rgya bon* and *rgyal bon* in present-day use are different. The word *rgya* refers to China,[197] whereas the word *rgyal* means king. As I have shown in the list of the father's names above, *rgya bon* is recorded instead of *rgyal bon* in the *mDo 'dus*, and probably the Bonpos have considered *rgya* and *rgyal* to be interchangeable.[198] However, the *rgya bon brim tang* that appeared in Pelliot tibétain 1134 has become *rgyal/rgya bon thod dkar* in the account of Shenrab. I will discuss *thod dkar* in the next section.

<u>**Table:** A Speculative Example of the Name Transformation</u>

| Pelliot tibétain 1134 | Transformation | *mDo 'dus* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| rgya bon brim tang | rgya <alternative> rgyal<br>brim tang >replaced by> thod dkar | rgyal bon thod dkar |

The rendering of names in the *mDo 'dus* from old Tibetan documents can also be seen in some other names. Within the list of thirty-three *bonpos*, there are three names listed as *phya bon thod dkar*, *rgyal bon bong(bon) po* and *sman bon 'bring dangs* (*mDo 'dus*, p. 53 ff.). If these names are compared with the names found in the above passage in Pelliot tibétain 1134, the similarity is evident. Here we can see that one name is spread over three names: *thod dkar* in the first name, *rgyal bon* in the second name, and *'bring dangs* (cf. *brim tang*) in the third name. This proves that several names were compiled to form one name or that an existing

[196] Cf. *myi bo* for *mi bo*, *myi rje* for *mi rje* in Pelliot tibétain 16 and *myi rabs* for *mi rabs* in Pelliot tibétain 1047.

[197] I have argued for this translation in Gurung (2009, p. 258). See Stein 2003b, p. 600 for a different opinion.

[198] There are other examples like, *rgya rong* and *rgyal rong* (a place in Sichuan province in China) and *rgya mkhar* and *rgyal mkhar* (a mythical palace in Bon texts), which are interchangeable too. Most of these interchangeable words are the result of how these words are pronounced by the people of eastern Tibet.

name was modified to form another.

Another reference to the name of Shenrab's father is given in the late 13th-century Tibetan history *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* written by Khepa Dewu. Although this source is dated almost two hundred years later than the *mDo 'dus*, some information recorded in this historical text could still depend on an older tradition. Furthermore, this Tibetan history apparently was composed on the basis of an older source, although the author(s) does not specify any details. In fact, the names recorded in this text are comparable to the names given in Pelliot tibétain 1134. I shall first quote the passage from the history by Khepa Dewu (1987, p. 232) and then compare that to Pelliot tibétain 1134.

> *" 'bring mo dre btsun rmu mo dang mi bon lha bon dang rgya 'brong tam chen po bshos pa'i sras 'chi med gshen gyi rmu rgyal tsha dang/ ce'u gshen gyi phyag(phya) dkar tsha gnyis so."*
>
> "The middle daughter, *dre btsun dmu mo*, consorted with *mi bon lha bon* and *rgya 'brong tam chen po*. From [each] union, they had two sons. The first is a grandson of *dmu* King, *'chi med gshen*, and the second is a grandson of white *phya* called *ce'u gshen*."

This passage has been translated by Karmay as, "*mi bon lha bon* unites with the second daughter *dre btsun dmu mo*. From this union two brothers, *mtshe mi gshen gyi dmu rgyal tsha* and *gco'u gshen gyi phyag mkhar*, were born." In his translation, Karmay (1994, p. 418) has omitted the name *rgya 'brong tam chen po*. He even read *mtshe mi* instead of *'chi med*, the description of the first son *'chi med gshen gyi rmu rgyal tsha*, which appears in the above history book. He seems to have used the version of Khepa Dewu's history published in 1987 in Lhasa , volume three of the series *Gangs can rig mdzod*. I have checked the same version here too. However, he has read the passage, for an unknown reason, differently

from the original passage in Tibetan.

According to this source, *dre btsun dmu mo* had two husbands: *mi bon lha bon* and *rgya 'brong tam chen po*. From these unions, she also bore two sons: a grandson of *dmu* King and a grandson of white *Phya*. The two names of the husbands suggest a significant relationship between this source and Pelliot tibétain 1134, although Pelliot tibétain 1134 gave *myi bon lha bon* and *rgya bon brim tang* as two names of the same person, while Khepa Dewu listed them as the names of two separate persons. If we look carefully at the names: *rgya bon brim tang* in Pelliot tibétain 1134 and *rgya 'brong tam chen po* in the history by Khepa Dewu, we can find a link between the sources for this name. Given that one of these sources is dated before and the other after the *mDo 'dus*, we may conjecture that the two later accounts derive from a source similar to the passage in Pelliot tibétain 1134. Khepa Dewu could have written the *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* on the basis of the same source. In other words, the anonymous source first related in Pelliot tibétain 1134 and later recorded in the *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* could have possibly influenced the understanding of later Bonpo authors regarding the name of Shenrab's father.

Regarding the descriptive name of the first son, *'chi med gshen gyi rmu rgyal tsha*, there seems to be a conflation, as *'chi med* corresponds with *'chi med gtsug phud* (the name used for Shenrab before his descent, according to the *mDo 'dus*), and *gshen* with *gshen rab mi bo* (i.e. Shenrab Miwo). As indicated in the last part of the name, the person is said to have been a grandson of *dmu* King (Tib. *dmu rgyal tsha*). The only person who this description could be referring to is Shenrab, because he is not only described as a grandson of *dmu* King and a son of Gyalbön Thökar, but he is also connected to the name *'chi med gshen* (Chime Tsukphu plus Shenrab Miwo).

Now we can further speculate as to why it was Gyalbön Thökar (Tib. *rgyal bon thod dkar*) who was portrayed as Shenrab's father. I shall refer here to the above passage from the 13th-century Tibetan history by Khepa Dewu, regarding the

relation between the first son *ꜥchi med gshen*, and the first husband of *dre btsun dmu mo, mi bon lha bon*. Bonpo authors might have interpreted the first husband *mi bon lha bon* as *mi bon lha bon rgyal bon thod dkar*. The first son, or grandson of the *dmu* King, *ꜥchi med gshen* might have been interpreted as Shenrab Miwo. The name *ꜥchi med gshen* could be read as combination of Shenrab's name in his previous life, Chime Tsukphu, with *gshen* from Shenrab Miwo. Therefore, it is clear that this sort of information may have driven the author(s) of the *mDo ꞌdus* to assert that Gyalbön Thökar was the father, Shenrab Miwo the son, and that their family descended from the *dmu* clan.

## References to *thod dkar*

There are two different references to *thod dkar* found in the Dunhuang documents. The first is *pho gshen thod dkar* found in Pelliot tibétain 1285[199] and IOL TIB J 734.[200] It refers to male ritual priests wearing white turbans. There was a group of a hundred such priests who were invited from the white Pure Mountain (Tib. *dags ri dkar po*) to cure someone's illness. This reference always appears before a reference to 'female priests' (Tib. *mo gshen*), who were also invited from the black Shadowy Mountain (Tib. *sribs ri nag mo*) to cure illness.[201] We can see from this reference that *thod dkar* is an epithet for a group of male ritual priests (Tib. *pho gshen*) and they were probably wearing white turbans (Tib. *la thod*). The second reference to *thod dkar* is recorded in Pelliot tibétain 1286[202] and Pelliot tibétain

[199] Pelliot tibétain 1285: [r39] "*dags ri dkar po las/ pho gshen thod / dkar brgya' bsdus te/*"; [r66] "*dags rI dkar po la' las / pho gshen thod / dkar brgya bsogs te*"; [r86] "*dags rI dkar po la / pho gshen thod dkar brgya bsdus ste*"; [r151] "*dags rI dkar po la / pho gshen / thod kar brgya bsdus kyang*"; [r165-66] "*dags rI dkar po // pho/ gshen thod kar brgya bsdus kyang*," cf. Lalou 1958, p. 200 and Imaeda 2007, pp. 184-86, 189-90.

[200] IOL TIB J 734: "[2r48] *bdags raM / dkar po la / po gshen thod kar brgya bsogs te / / mo bthab [pya?] blhags/* " See Imaeda 2007, p. 277.

[201] Cf. also Blezer 2008, pp. 430-31 and Dotson 2008, pp. 48-49 for a discussion on this reference.

[202] Pelliot tibétain 1286/line 8: "*[myang?] ro 'i pyed kar na/ rje rtsang rje'i thod kar/*" See Imaeda 2007, p. 197.

1290.[203] It is the name of a person, who is identified as the king of rTsang (nowadays spelled as gTsang) province.[204] What is evident from these two references is that *thod dkar* is also a name of a historical figure. Therefore, it is very likely that these references could have influenced not only the name of Shenrab's father, but also his designation as a king, and even the clothing he is described as wearing.

I should also like to mention here an interesting reference to *thod dkar* found in the list of twelve lords, spirits and masters given in the *Srid pa spyi mdos*.[205] According to this text, these twelve lords, spirits and masters were invited for a ritual offering at the *mdos* altar.[206] Among these twelve lords, spirits and masters, the first one and perhaps their leader, *gshen rab myi bo*, was asked to pacify some demonic forces, including Māra Khyapa, who often interfered in

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[203] Pelliot tibétain 1290/line r4: "*myang ro'i phyIr khar na rje rtsang rje'i thod kar/*", line v5: "*myang ro'i phyIr khar na rje rtsang rje'i thod kar/*" See Imaeda 2007, pp. 249-50.

[204] See also Smith 2001, p. 219. Here the name *rtsang rje thod dkar rje* is listed among the four lords of the *stong* tribe, the fourth original Tibetan tribe.

[205] Bonpos claim that this text was discovered in 1067 AD by Nyenton Sherab Sengge. According to Shardza (1985), he was a shepherd called Nyenton Sherab Dorje, but the people called him Nyentheng Rengan (Tib. *theng* 'lame') because of his lame leg (cf. Karmay 1972, p. 153 and Blondeau 2000, p. 249). Karmay (1998, p. 346) has translated part of this text into English. In the colophon of the *Srid pa spyi mdos*, this text is attributed to Sangpo Trinkhod (Tib. *sangs po khrin khod*). Namkhai Norbu (1996, p. 581) considered this text to be an old Bon source and he identified the author as Rasang Trinakhod (Tib. *ra sangs khri na khod*), who is said to have lived in the 8th-century AD. According to Karmay (1972, p. 12), Rasang Trinakhod was born into the Khyungpo clan as one of the two sons of Gyerchen Damay (8th-century AD?, cf. Karmay 1977, p. 51 for this date). The name Rasang Je (Tib. *ra sangs rje*) from Khyungpo is also recorded in Pelliot tibétain 1286, line 7: "*zhang zhung dar pa'I rjo bo lig snya shur / blon po khyung po ra sangs rje dang*" and Pelliot tibétain 1290 (line r4): "*blon po khyung po ra sangs rje* … (line v5) *zhang zhung dar ma'i rje bo lag snya shur / / blon po khyung po ra sangse rje /*" The two names: Sangpo Trinkhod and Rasang Trinakhod are very similar, although it is not certain that these two names belong to the same person. Particularly, the latter part of the names Trinkhod and Trinakhod are very close. However, what can be justified here is that the narrative content of the text seems to have been derived from a source from a period contemporaneous to the Dunhuang documents.

[206] This altar may be similar to the altar built in the *mKha' klong gsang mdos* ritual (see Blondeau 2000, p. 279, for an illustration of the altar).

Shenrab's practices (see the previous chapter). The other nine lords and spirits (see table below) were offered whatever food and drink they desired, so that they would not cause any harm to other beings. The last two are described as divine masters (Tib. *dbon/dpon gsas*). Although not specified clearly, their task seems to have been to mediate between the spirits and the humans. Elsewhere in the same text (*Srid pa spyi mdos*, f. 3b), the author briefly writes that there were three hundred and sixty *thod dkar* in total, "*srid ni thod dkar srid/ sum rgya drug cu srid*". This suggests that *thod dkar*, according to the *Srid pa spyi mdos*, is also the name of group of divine masters, which corresponds to some extent with the description in Pelliot tibétain 1285 and IOL TIB J 734. Apart from the name *thod dkar*, parts of a few other names like, *rmu rje* and *btsan rje* can also be found in the list of Shenrab's ancestors. This will be discussed later on in this chapter.

Table: The Twelve Lords and Spirits Listed in the *Srid pa spyi mdos* (f. 3b-4b)

| | Their description | Place |
|---|---|---|
| 1. gShen rab myi bo | A god of *gshen* (cf. *gshen lha* or *lha gshen*) | at the border of god and human world |
| 2. dGung rgyal ma | Queen of the sky | at the upper of the three spaces |
| 3. rMu rje | King of *rmu* (alt. *dmu*) | at the middle of the three spaces |
| 4. Gu lang | Cf. Maheśvara? Tib. *gu lang dbang phyug* | at the lower of the three spaces |
| 5. bTsan rje | Lord of *btsan* spirit | on the other side of the space |
| 6. This rje | Lord of goblin (Tib. *this rang / the'u rang*) | in between the space |
| 7. Ma mo | Female demonic spirit | on this side of the space |
| 8. Dogs(dong) bdag | Lord of hole (nāga spiri?) | at the upper hole at the rainbow and the cloud |
| 9. gNyan rje | Lord of *gnyan* | at the middle hole at mountains and rocks |
| 10. Klu rje | Lord of nāga | at the lower hole in water |
| 11. Thod dkar | | at the palace called sNang srid |

| 12. Wer ma | | lis rgyad kyi zer ma[207] |
|---|---|---|

A passage from the *Khyung 'bum gong ma* (text 15 in Gansu manuscript)[208] sheds light on the question as to why *rgyal bon thod dkar* is attached to *lha bon* 'divine bon'. This work informs us of a person by the name of *lha bon thod gar*, a part of the name of Shenrab's father. According to the text, Dungmyi Lhagar invited Lhabon Thodgar to defeat his enemy, a demon named Lenpa Kyinreng. Dungmyi Lhagar is described as a primordial god and is also called *lha chen* 'great god'. Since all the relevant events take place in a heavenly land called Lhayul Gungthang,[209] according to this text, Lhabon Thodgar must also be identified as a divine figure. That is probably the reason why the name *rgyal bon thod dkar* was also attached to *lha bon* 'a divine Bon' to construe the name of Shenrab's father, *mi bon lha bon rgyal bon thod dkar*.

## MOTHER GYALZHEMA, MOTHER OF MEN AND GODS

Like the long name of the father, mentioned above, the mother of Shenrab also has a very long name, *mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi rgyal bzhad ma*. She is popularly known among the Bonpos by the shorter version of the name Yöchi Gyalzhema. According to the *mDo 'dus* (p. 55), the mother's maiden name was Salwe Odenmo. When she married Gyalbön Thökar, she was initiated with the long name. In regard to the construction of this long name, the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* used the same model as he used for the name of the father. Like the word *bon* is repeated three times in the father's name, the term *phyi* is also repeated three times in the mother's name. Also the first two names, *mi bon* and *lha bon*, of the father are

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[207] The passage in the *Srid pa spyi mdos* (f.4b) reads: "*lis rgyad kyi zer ma na/ spyan ['dren ni su 'dren na]/ spyan 'dren ni wer ma 'dren/*" From the context, this *lis rgyad kyi zer ma* seems to be a name of place, but I am not clear about its location or meaning.

[208] No information is available so far regarding the date of this source. I am grateful to Ngawang Gyatso for sharing this rare manuscript with me.

[209] This toponym, *lha yul gung dang*, is found in Pelliot tibétain 1060 and IOL TIB J 731.

repeated here with the suffix *phyi*, thus becoming *mi phyi* and *lha phyi*. These are followed by *yo phyi* (cf. *yo bon*) and *rgyal bzhad ma*. As mentioned above, in the *gZer mig*, the name *yo bon* is added to the father's name, which here corresponds with *yo phyi*. However, it is not entirely certain which one of the two, *yo phyi* or *yo bon*, has influenced the other. Furthermore, *rgyal* also appears in her name (cf. *rgyal bzhad* instead of *rgyal phyi*), which probably corresponds to *rgyal bon* in the father's name. However, modifying *rgyal bon* into *rgyal phyi* (following the same system of replacement) apparently was not eligible; perhaps the latter does not carry any relevant meaning in this context.

The old Tibetan word *phyi* in the mother's name is to be interpreted as an abbreviation of *phyi mo*, which in this context means 'grandmother'.[210] It can be said that she was honoured as the grandmother of all human beings, as is clear from her descriptive name. From the long name of Shenrab's mother, she was known as *mi phyi* 'grandmother of men', *lha phyi* 'grandmother of gods', and *yo phyi* 'everyone's grandmother' who is called *rgyal bzhad ma* 'a blooming queen-cum-mother'.

Although they are all referring to the same woman, i.e. Shenrab's mother, in the *mDo 'dus* there are several variants of her name. I shall list them here, including also those variants that are probably only due to scribal errors.

1) *Mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi rgyal bzhad ma*[211] and its shorter version *mi phyi lha phyi'i rgyal bzhad ma*[212] are the name used most often by the Bonpos.
2) *Mi phye lha phye yo phye rgyal gzhan ma*.[213] The word *phyi* is replaced with *phye*, and *bzhad* with *gzhan*, probably a scribal error.

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[210] See Pelliot tibétain 1071/r332 "*zhang lon 'di rnams kyI myes pho dang / pha dang phyi mo dang ma' dang* …" "these *zhang lon*'s grandfather, father, grandmother, mother and …" The word *zhang lon* in this text seems to be a title of a high ranking position, but its real meaning is unclear to me. Almost an identical passage is also found in Pelliot tibétain 1072/line 078.

[211] See *mDo 'dus*, p. 55, *mDo 'dus* Karmay, f. 21r and *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal, f. 18r, f. 24v.

[212] See *mDo 'dus*, p. 41.

[213] See *mDo 'dus* Karmay f. 28r.

3) *mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi rgyal bzhad*,[214] *mi phyi lha'i yo phyi rgyal bzhed*,[215] and *mi phye yo phye rgyal bzhed*.[216] The main difference here is that *ma* is omitted, probably to achieve the required amount of syllables for this verse. In the third name, *phyi* is replaced by *phye*, which again looks like a scribal error.
4) *Yo phyi/phye rgyal bzhad yum*.[217] In this name, *ma* is replaced with *yum* 'mother'.

## The Family Background of Yöchi Gyalzhema

According to the *mDo 'dus*, Yöchi Gyalzhema, alias Salwe Odenmo, was a daughter of King Sala[218] and Queen Girtima. This tells us that she was born into a royal family. Also elsewhere in the *mDo 'dus* (p. 52), it is suggested that the mother of Shenrab must be from royal descent (Tib. *rgyal rigs*). However, the author of the *gZer mig* disagrees with the account in the *mDo 'dus* and supplies us with the information that the King Sala first was born in a lower class, in Tibetan *dmangs rigs*, which is equivalent to Sanskrit *śūdra*, 'commoner' or 'servant' class, in the Indian caste system. It is also suggested that it was Yöchi Gyalzhema's engagement to Gyalbön Thökar that entitled her family to become members of the royal family.

Apart from the brief account mentioned above, the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* does not provide further details on the family background of Shenrab's mother. I shall summarize the account recorded in the *gZer mig* (pp. 15–25), which also demonstrates how Bonpos later have elaborated the story of Shenrab's mother.

Even after the whole world had been searched, it was very difficult to find a suitable bride for the Prince Gyalbön Thökar. When the Prince reached the age

[214] See *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal f. 84r.
[215] See *mDo 'dus* p. 191.
[216] See *mDo 'dus* Karmay f. 84v.
[217] See *mDo 'dus* p. 52, *mDo 'dus* Karmay f. 26v and *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal f. 22v.
[218] The name Sala occurs four times in the *mDo 'dus* (p. 55, 59, 113 and 208), three of which refer to the King who was the father of Yöchi Gyalzhema and one refers to a Brahmin.

of thirteen, a father and a son came to visit him and they introduced themselves as coming from the city Langling near the lake Mule Tongdenhe[219] and being from a *dmangs rigs* (Skt. *śūdra*) family. The purpose of their visit was for the father to offer his beautiful daughter to the Prince. When the Prince saw that they were physically handicapped (the father was blind in his right eye and the son had a lame left leg) and to make things worse they belonged to the *dmangs rigs*, he replied with embarrassment. He said, "It is impossible that you could have a beautiful daughter, who would be appropriate to be my wife, therefore do not spread this news. If you have a beautiful daughter, then bring her secretly to the lake Mule Tongdenhe, when I go there to take a bath."

As Gyalbön Thökar was embarrassed by this meeting he lied to those who asked him about it, but he reported this news truthfully to his father. His father responded positively and declared that it is not impossible, and that their disfigurement may be the result either of the downfall of a celestial being, or the liberation of someone from the suffering of Hell. Furthermore, his father stated that this may either be an indication of the downfall of a king to become an ordinary person, or the uplifting of an ordinary member of a lower class to rule the country as a king. The physical disabilities of the father and son are not bad omens, because blindness of the right eye is an indication of blocking the door to the lower realms and a lame left leg is an indication of benefitting sentient beings. The Prince was convinced by this reply from his father and he prepared to meet the daughter of the *dmangs rigs* family.

When the mother of the *dmangs rigs* family heard of the Prince's response, she became sad and cried. When the father decided to send her to marry a man from the same class, the daughter begged her father not to send her away, at least until the full moon of the next month. The daughter told her father that she wished

[219] A similar name is mentioned in Shardza 1985. It is a crystal lake (Tib. *shel mtsho*) called Mulehe, located in Purang (cf. Vitali 1996 for *spu rangs*). According to Karmay (1972, p. 124), three hunters, including Marpa Phenzang, found some Bonpo treasures nearby this lake.

to go to see the prince. The parents agreed to her appeal.

During the prince's bathing event, the Prince was looking at the centre of the city full of astonishment. Seeing the Prince's amazement, the Brahmin Salkhyab Oden asked, "You do not seem to appreciate the amusing performances of the gods, nāgas and humans; but you seem to be entertained by something else in the city centre. What is the amusement that you see there?" The Prince replied, "There is a beautiful girl on the top of the white palace in the centre of the city of Langling. Is she the daughter of a nāga, who has come in the form of a human, or a sky-goddess, who has come in the form of a nāga or a human? I am amazed by this, therefore I am smiling."

The Brahmin saw the girl and went to gather information about her family background. He asked the girl, but she left without reply. Then he made enquiries among the local people who told him about her family. The Brahmin reported this to the Prince, who sent him again to enquire further. The lame son received the Brahmin. When the Brahmin found the girl exceptionally beautiful, he also became excited. He suggested to the parents that they offer their daughter to the prince. Although the father and son disagreed, the girl proposed a condition. The girl sent message that if the prince wishes to be with her from his heart, he should offer a royal position to her parents. The Brahmin conveyed the girl's proposal to the prince. The latter accepted the proposal and decided to appoint the girl's parents to royal positions. The Brahmin gathered the people of the city of Langling and announced the enthronement of the girl's parents. The father Sala was enthroned as a king, the mother Girtima as a queen and the brother Salkhyab as a prince. After the marriage, the daughter Salwe Odenmo was named *mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi rgyal bzhad ma*. In this long story from the *gZer mig*, there are at least two points to consider. The family of *dmangs rigs* (Skt. *śūdra*), in which Shenrab's mother was born, and the activities of the Brahmin, which are also reported in the *Lalitavistara*.

The *dmangs rigs* or the caste (Skt. *varṇa*) system in general is rooted in

Indian culture and does not apply to Tibet, although the system is mentioned in numerous early Tibetan translations of Indian Buddhist texts. These early Tibetan texts have probably influenced the understanding of the social order among Bonpos. However, the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* describes the origin of the four castes differently from how we know it from Indian texts or Tibetan translations. In the following passage from the *mDo 'dus*, the four castes are said to have originated from the four elements: earth, water, fire and wind.

> "The nāgas were miraculously born from the four elements: earth, water, fire and wind. The royal caste born from the earth, the merchant caste from water, the Brahmin caste from fire, and the commoner from wind."[220]

Although this passage describes the four castes of nāga spirits, the variation indicates a different understanding of the four-caste system in Tibet. We may understand that this interpretation of the four castes also applies to the human realm, although the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* does not explicitly mention these four together anywhere in the text. The author(s) does however mention all the four castes: Royal caste (Tib. *rgyal rigs*), Merchant caste (Tib. *rje'i rigs*), Brahmin caste (Tib. *bram ze'i rigs*) and Commoner caste (Tib. *rmang rigs gdol ba*) on various other occasions and there they do apply to the human realm.[221]

The four-caste system has been elaborated further in later Bonpo works, and there it more clearly is connected to humans. I shall present two relevant passages from the *gZer mig* and the *mDzod sgra 'grel*. The four castes are even organized in hierarchical order in accordance with their distinct natures. The *gZer mig* describes that there are four human castes. People belonging to royal caste (Tib. *rgyal rigs*, Skt. *kṣatriya*) are the greatest, those belonging to merchant caste

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[220] *mDo 'dus* (p. 13), "*'byung bar smon lam btab pa las/ sa chu me rlung 'byung bzhi las/ klu rnams rdzu 'phrul las la skyes/ sa la rgyal rig/ chu las rje'u rigs 'byung/ me las bram ze rlung las rmang rigs 'byung/ de tshe rigs bzhi klu chen brgyad/*"

[221] See *mDo 'dus*, p. 40, pp. 47-48, p. 207.

(Tib. *rje'i rigs*, Skt. *vaiśya*) are the purest, those belonging to Brahmin caste (Tib. *bram ze'i rigs*, Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) are the noblest, and those belonging to commoner caste (Tib. *rmangs rigs*, Skt. *śūdra*) are the lowest (*gZer mig*, p. 14).

A very similar interpretation is also given in the early 12th-century Bon cosmological text, *mDzod sgra 'grel*.[222] According to this text, the greatest are those who belong to the royal group. The noblest are those who belong to the merchant group, the purest are those who belong to the Brahmin group and the lowest are those who belong to the commoner group (*mDzod sgra 'grel*, p. 28). However, in contrast to the categorization of castes in the *gZer mig*, the status of the merchant caste and the Brahmin caste are switched in this Bon cosmological text. This suggests that there was no standard categorization of the four caste systems among the Bonpos. Since the system of the four castes is foreign to Tibetan culture, its categorization depends largely on how an author understands the four castes, or how he remembers the interpretation of the four caste system, as it appears in relevant texts.

## ANCESTOR OF *DMU* FAMILY

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, in the list of Shenrab's paternal lineage that appears in the *mDo 'dus* only two male ancestors are recorded. The first one is his grandfather the king of *dmu* named Lamgyi Thempake and his father Gyalbön Thödkar. Let me paraphrase here the relevant passage: There was a king of *dmu*, named Lamgyi Thempake, in the Barpo Sogye palace, in the land of Olmo Ling, in Jambudvīpa. He consorted with the *phya* Princess Ngangdrangma, a grand-daughter of Matsun Trulmo. Their son was Gyalbön Thödkar, who married Gyalzhema with whom he had nine sons and one daughter. The youngest of them was Shenrab, who became the ruler of the kingdom (*mDo 'dus*, pp. 41–42 and 55).

In later Bon sources, the paternal lineage list of Shenrab's ancestors was further extended, to include three or more names and their female partners. The

[222] This text is said to have been discovered by Gyermi Nyiod and Maton Sidzin in 1108 AD.

inclusion of these names demonstrates the way in which the life account of Shenrab continued to develop. I shall discuss that expansion providing examples from two earlier Bon sources (*'Dul ba gling grags* and *lTa ba khyung chen*) and from a 20th-century Bon history (Shardza 1985). The *'Dul ba gling grags* (p. 118–19) has three extra names in the list of Shenrab's ancestors. [223]

> From the heart of Shenlha [Odkar], a brown-reddish light arose and landed on the peak of the brown *dmu* mountain. That [light] transformed into a human, who possesses a white light. He was called Muchug Kyirzhon. His union with Lhaza Gangdrag[224] bore a son named Mutsenzhergyi Gyalpo. [The latter] consorted with a *phya* lady called Gyalmo and they had a son named Mutsen Gyalpo. [The latter] and [his wife] Rimnam Gyalmo's son was *dmu* King Langyi Themke. The latter consorted with Lhaza Trulmo and their son was *dmu* King Thökar [the father of Shenrab Miwo].

As we will see in the following quotation, four names are added in the second source, *lTa ba khyung chen* (pp. 4–6), which is approximately datable from the 12th century.[225]

> There was a king called Muchug Kyerab, who was a direct descendant of the nine *'then*.[226] In this lineage, the king who had the power to liberate [his

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[223] Another early Bon text *rTsa rgyud nyi sgron* (pp. 79-80) also follows the *'Dul ba gling grags* list: *dmu phyug skyer zhon*, *dmu btsan bzher gyis rgyal po*, *dmu btsan rgyal ba*, *dmu rgyal lan gyi them skas*, *rgyal po thod dkar*, *ston pa gshen rab*.

[224] This can be compared to Lhaza Gungdrug, one of the six wives of Shenrab Miwo in the *mDo 'dus*. Another comparable name Lhamo Gangdrag appears in the Bon cosmogonical text, the *mDzod phug*.

[225] According to the colophon, a person with the family name *rma* discovered the text *lTa ba khyung chen* in Shampo cave. He is identified as *rma* Sherab Loden in a small note, but I assume that *rma* in the colophon refers to *rma* Sherab Sengge (b. 12th-century), because many other Bon texts were discovered by him in the same cave.

[226] The nine *'then* spirits are said to be descendants of a god.

> people] was the *dmu* King Lampa Chakar. The king who was enthroned in the place of [Lampa Chakar] was the *dmu* King Tsenpa Gyerchen. His successor was the King Thogje Tsenpa, and the latter's successor was *dmu* King Langyi Themke. He [*dmu* King Langyi Themke] was succeeded by Gyalbön Thökar, the one who supported all existence.

As seen in the two passages above, it is generally agreed that all the figures are kings and are descendants of the *dmu* family. However, the main difference in these two earlier sources, *Ďul ba gling grags* and *lTa ba khyung chen*, is that the lists are not consistent. For instance, the second and the third names recorded in the *Ďul ba gling grags* are not given in the *lTa ba khyung chen*. Instead, the second and third names are different and a fourth name is also added in the *lTa ba khyung chen*. This inconsistency between the two texts is probably due to different sources.

Nevertheless, these early sources have influenced later Bonpo authors, when presenting lists of Shenrab's ancestors. This is evident from the early 20th-century Bon history by Shardza. Shardza's Bon history has received great attention in Western academia as it has been translated into English by Karmay (1972). Shardza combined the two lists above and then extended it to create a well-known list of Shenrab's ancestors. As can be seen in the table below, Shardza gives eight names, including the father Gyalbön Thökar, and thus pushed the family lineage of Shenrab Miwo about eight generations back. In Namkhai Norbu (1996, p. 48–49) , who seems to consider this to be an authentic list of the *dmu* kings, the list of Shenrab's ancestors is pushed even further back, to thirteen generations.

**Table:** Ancestor of the *dmu* Family

| *mDo 'dus* (pp. 41–42) | *'Dul ba gling grags* (pp. 118–19) | *lTa ba khyung chen* (pp. 4–6) | Shardza 1985 (pp. 17–18) |
|---|---|---|---|
| X | Muchug Kyirzhon | King Muchug Kyerab | Muchug Kyerzhon |
| X | X | *dmu* King Lampa Chakar | *dmu* King Lampa Chagkar |
| X | Mutsenzhergyi Gyalpo | X | Muzher Gyalpo |
| X | X | *dmu* King Tsenpa Gyerchen | *dmu* King Tsenpa Gyerchen |
| X | Mutsen Gyalpo | X | Mugyal Tsenpo |
| X | X | King Thogje Tsenpa | *dmu* King Thogje Tsunpa |
| *dmu* King Lamgyi Thempake | *dmu* King Langyi Themke | *dmu* King Langyi Themke | *dmu* King Langyi Themke |
| Mibön Lhabön Gyalbön Thökar | *dmu* King Thökar | Gyalbön Thökar | Gyalbön Thökar |
| Shenrab Miwo | [Shenrab Miwo] | [Shenrab Miwo] | Shenrab Miwo |

## NINE BROTHERS OR NINE WAYS

In chapter twelve of the *mDo 'dus*, Shenrab is described as the only son of Gyalbön Thödkar,[227] but chapter six of the *mDo 'dus* informs us that King Gyalbön Thödkar and Queen Gyalzhema had nine sons and one daughter. This is to say that there were nine brothers and one sister in Shenrab's family. The three elder brothers were called *Phya gshen*, *sNang gshen* and *Srid gshen*, who became teachers of three heavenly realms (Tib. *lha gnas gsum*).[228] The three middle brothers *'Phrul gshen*, *Mi/Ye gshen* and *gTsug gshen* went to tame the *g.yen* spirits

[227] *mDo 'dus*, p. 105, "*rgyal bon thod dkar bu cig gshen rab 'di*"

[228] I have not been able to identify these three heavenly realms.

of the three spheres: *yar g.yen* 'the spirits in the sky', *bar g.yen* 'the spirits in the intermediate sphere' and *sa g.yen* 'the spirits on the earth'.[229] They became the masters of the *g.yen* spirits. The younger three brothers are *Grub gshen*, *Grol gshen* and *gShen rab* (Shenrab). These three stayed to assist their mother Gyalzhema. The sister, Ngangringma, was married to *phya* Antse Lenme, who gave birth to a son named Yikyi Khyeuchung. The youngest of the nine brothers, Shenrab, became the ruler of the kingdom and he married six wives and had ten children, as we have seen in the previous chapter.

This description of the nine brothers is nowhere to be found in the other accounts of Shenrab Miwo. What can be the possible origin of this description? In chapter seventeen of the *mDo 'dus*, there is a list of the Nine Ways of Bon or the nine methods for teaching the doctrines of Bon.

<u>**Table:** Nine Brothers v/s Nine ways</u>[230]

| **The Nine ways** (*mDo 'dus*, ch. xvii) | | **The Nine brothers** (*mDo 'dus*, ch. vi) |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Phya gshen* | = | *Phya gshen* (B1) |
| 2. *sNang gshen* | = | *sNang gshen* (B2) |
| 3. *'Phrul gshen* | = | *'Phrul gshen* (B4) |
| 4. *Srid gshen* | = | *Srid gshen* (B3) |
| 5. *dGe snyen* | =? | *gTsug gshen*[231] (B6) |
| 6. *Drang srong* | =? | |
| 7. *A dkar sngags rgyud* | =? | *Grub gshen*[232] (B7) |

[229] See the thirty-three *bonpos* listed in appendix 2, who were also responsible for subduing the spirits of these three spheres.

[230] For the nine ways of Bon, see Snellgrove 1967, pp. 9-11.

[231] Cf. *gtsug phud thob pa'i gshen*, the *gshen* who has removed his crown and renounced worldly life, thus becoming an ascetic monk. This name also corresponds to *gtsug gshen* of Tsugshen Gyalwa, otherwise known as Yikyi Khyeuchung.

[232] The Tibetan terms *grub* and *grol* have the connotations of 'practicing' and 'liberating', which belong to Tantric practices, while *sgrol (lam)* may also refer to the *rdzogs chen* path, the ninth of the Nine Ways.

| | =? | *Grol gshen* (B8) |
|---|---|---|
| 8. *Ye gshen* | = | *Mi/Ye gshen* (B5) |
| 9. *rDzogs chen a ti ba'i sde* | =? | *Grol gshen* (B8) |
| | ≠ | *gShen rab* (B9) |

Among the names of the nine brothers listed in the table, five names (B1–B5) exactly match five of the nine Bon doctrinal teachings. Three names (B6–B8) are also related to four of the Nine Ways (5–7 and 9), but only from their contexts. The remaining name, gShen rab (B9), does not match any of the Nine Ways, but since he is identified as Shenrab Miwo, he is the one who taught the Nine Ways. Therefore, I argue that most of the names of the eight brothers of Shenrab Miwo, as listed in the *mDo 'dus*, are derived from the doctrinal systems of the Nine Ways of Bon. It is still a mystery why such an interpretation was made, given that it does not add any credibility to the life account of Shenrab. In fact, it contradicts the assertion in chapter twelve of the *mDo 'dus* that Shenrab was the only son. However, considering the highly composite nature of this text, we probably should not expect consistency.

In regard to how the names of the nine brothers were constructed, a few other factors are also worth discussing. There are two names listed among the thirty-three *bonpos* in the *mDo 'dus* (pp. 53–54) that are relevant here: *srin(srid) bon* and *phya bon*. According to Pelliot tibétain 1285, the term *phya* is used to describe a ritual (text) to be recited (Tib. *mo btab phya klags*),[233] thus the priest who performs that ritual is known as *phya bon*. This document also informs us that there are two kinds of ritual priests: *bon* and *gshen* (see Dotson 2008, pp. 43–44). Since both the terms *bon* and *gshen* designate a ritual priest, the names *phya bon* and *srid bon* could have been reinterpreted as *phya gshen* and *srid gshen* in the list of Shenrab's brothers in the *mDo 'dus*.

[233] The *phya* ritual is generally performed to avert misfortune and to develop a long life. See *A Lexicon of Zhangzhung and Bonpo terms* (Nagano [et al] 2008), p. 152.

Table: Some Other Examples of *bon* and *gshen* designations

| *bon* | *gshen* | Source |
|---|---|---|
| *'Phrul bon* | *'Phrul gshen* | Stein (1972, p. 230) |
| *Lha bon* | *Lha gshen* | |
| *Ye bon* | *Ye gshen* | |
| *Dur bon* | *Dur gshen* | |
| *'Ol bon* | *'Ol gshen* | PT 1285 |

## CONCLUSION

As discussed above, the way the names of Shenrab's parents, ancestors, and other family members are presented in the *mDo 'dus* demonstrably can be traced back to earlier sources. As for the name of the father, we can find two separate names in the Dunhuang documents: *mi bon/ lha'i bon/ rgya bon brim tang* and *thod dkar*. It is evident that the first two names, *mi bon* and *lha'i bon* are kept as in the original. A part of the third name, *rgya bon* was modified and put together with *thod dkar* found in old Tibetan documents. The intermingling of the names derived from old Tibetan sources is proven by the other names found in the *mDo 'dus* (p. 54) and the late 13th-century Tibetan historical text called *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*. The relationship between *mi bon lha bon* and *'chi med gshen*, as father and son, is also recorded in this history. Since *'chi med gshen* is none other than Shenrab, later Bonpo authors may have remembered him as the son of *mi bon lha bon* Gyalbön Thökar, and a grandson of a *dmu* king. After the father's name was settled, a similar model was applied to construe the name of Shenrab's mother. In the word formations with *bon*, *bon* was replaced by *phyi*. As I have shown above, only two of Shenrab's ancestors were listed in the *mDo 'dus*, but this list was extended in later sources. By the time of the 20th-century Bon historical text by Shardza, this list had increased up to four times in length and it was extended even further by Namkhai Norbu, who added several other names. In addition, confusion between the names of the Bon doctrinal teachings and personal names in the

*mDo 'dus* raises questions and quite obvious suspicions regarding the construction of this extended group of nine brothers.

Based on this evidence, I conclude that the names found in the *mDo 'dus* had several origins. These names serve to help construe the hagiography of Shenrab, but also to connect the *mDo 'dus* to other available historical sources. The author(s) seems to have had recourse to many old sources and/or oral traditions when including these names. Although the names that are recorded in the *mDo 'dus* are comparable to the names that appear in documents preserved in Dunhuang, I do not assert that they necessarily derive from those specific texts. This would in fact be very unlikely, because there is a gap between the date of sealing of the cave in the early 11th century and the emergence of the *mDo 'dus* in approximately the late 11th century. But I do assume that older Tibetan documents or oral traditions, which correspond to what has been preserved in Dunhuang, were available to Bonpo authors and also influenced later works, including the *mDo 'dus* and the later 13th-century Tibetan history by Khepa Dewu.

# CHAPTER SEVEN
# CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE

The early followers of what is known today as Bon certainly adopted local practices of Tibet, although those practices may not have been considered part of any organised religion at that time. Attributing those pre-Buddhist ritual practices of Tibet to Bon is actually a later interpretation. In fact, Bon emerged and developed side by side with the Tibetan Buddhist sects, starting about a thousand year ago. Both Bonpos and Tibetan Buddhists adopted many local Tibetan ritual practices, although Bonpos did so more prominently and probably also more consciously than did Buddhists. The philosophy and religious system of Bon is still rooted in Indian Buddhist ideology and thus Bon shares a common heritage with the other Tibetan Buddhist sects.

As Stein (1972 and 2003b) rightly pointed out, these old ritual practices seem to have had no particular name, although there were certain ritual specialists who were designated as *bon po*. This term merely seems to have been used to refer to a person that performed a specific ritual, in contrast to the way it is used today, that is, to refer to the followers of the Bon religion. The name Bon for the new religion was probably given as a result of identifying the religion with the activities of those early ritual specialists known as *bon po*.

In order to compete with the Buddhist claim that their religion was founded by the Buddha Śākyamuni, Bonpos began to claim that their religion was founded by Shenrab Miwo, and that it was much older than Buddhism. The followers of Bon also began to formalize their religion by appropriating Buddhist literature and adjusting it to their own purposes. In this way, Bonpo authors also adjusted the legendary narratives of the Buddha and formed the legends of Sherab Miwo.

As I have demonstrated in this dissertation, the life account of Shenrab not only resembles the legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni, but actually derives from it. What Bonpos take to be the life story of their founder is actually an indigenized

version of the life of the Buddha. When Bonpos were incorporating old Tibetan ritual practices into their newly established sectarian movement, perhaps to challenge the Tibetan Buddhist sects, they seem to have realized the importance of having a founder too. In order to compose what I consider to be the earliest complete account of Shenrab Miwo, the *mDo 'dus*, the Bonpo made use of old Tibetan documents, including fragments of text that were similar and contemporaneous to Dunhuang Tibetan documents. They probably also made use of oral narratives, they demonstrably used narratives, written or oral, based on Buddhist literature that was translated into Tibetan, and perhaps also used other older Bon texts.

The narratives in the *mDo 'dus*, which probably is the oldest account of the life of Shenrab, have more similarities to the legend of the Buddha (see chapter four) than the life accounts which were written later. I have carried out a study of the fragmentary and complex history of the *mDo 'dus*, but the exact date that it was written is unfortunately still uncertain. The colophon in this source does not help to establish the date that it was written, because the presumed source language of the original text is hard to establish and the existence of the translator has not been historically validated and furthermore, the existence of this text before the 10th century cannot be verified. The second option for estimating the compilation date of the *mDo 'dus* is to determine the date when the four great sūtras (*mDo chen po bzhi*) were discovered. Conventional evidence proves that these four sūtras existed from the 11th century AD, and many Bonpos believe that the *mDo 'dus* is one of these four. By analysing events as they appear in later narratives — the meeting of the two caretakers with a student of Zhuye Legpo, their meeting with a student of Lhari Nyenpo and their conversation about Shenchen Luga's discovery — I have limited the possibilities down to two dates: 1070 AD and 1081 AD. The fact that the passages from the *mDo 'dus* have been quoted in Bon sources from the 12th century onward and that it was already known by its short title then also support these approximate dates.

## THE FIRST GROUP OF SOURCES: THE *RGYA CHER ROL PA* AND OTHER BUDDHIST LEGENDS

As an approximate date for the writing of the *mDo 'dus* has now been established, we can proceed to determine the earlier sources from which these narratives were derived. The main source probably was the *rGya cher rol pa*, a Tibetan translation of the *Lalitavistara* that is dateable before 836 AD. Other Buddhist legendary sources from around the same time, such as the Tibetan translation of *Jātakamālā* and the sūtra *mDzangs blun*, also are possible sources that may have been used when compiling the *mDo 'dus*.

A comparative analysis of the *mDo 'dus* and the *rGya cher rol pa* not only reveals parallels between the stories of Shenrab and the Buddha, but it also shows the dependency of the former source upon the latter. Several motifs that are used in the Buddha legend, such as the white elephant entering the mother's womb, the blossoming of flowers, and the occurrence of other auspicious signs are adopted into the narrative of the *mDo 'dus*. Furthermore, the gestation period of ten months, the birth from the mother's right arm-pit and even the events that occurred afterwards, such as the appearance of Brahmā and Śakra, a nāga bathing the baby, the instantaneous growth of lotus flowers where the baby laid his first steps and the prophecy that he would become a great teacher, correspond almost entirely to the legend of the Buddha. These simply are restatements of the Buddha's birth story, as known from the *rGya cher rol pa*.

Shenrab's story about leaving his family, his assistants and the comfort of his palace to embrace solitary life after witnessing the four incidents is also taken from the account of the life of the Buddha. Other details such as the way they left their families, the horses they rode, the activities of their assistants and the four guardians lifting the hooves of their horses in order to help them leave silently are also very similar. Parts of these stories can also be found in other accounts of the Buddha's life, such as the *Majjhima Nikāya* (MN: 26) in the Pāli canon, although it is not clear how the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* would have had access to the

version of the narratives in this particular Pāli text: in any case, no Tibetan translations of the text are known to us today and a direct textual transmission therefore seems unlikely. Other details which derive from the legend of the Buddha include: Shenrab meeting a monk who inspired and ordained him, cutting his hair in front of a self-emerged stūpa, celestial beings offering him sacred clothes and singing auspicious prayers, the austere practices that he carried out for three years after he became a monk, and a girl offering a bowl of milk to Shenrab after he ended his austerities.

As the Buddha defeated all of Māra's challenges, Shenrab also defeated Māra Khyapa, who tried to distract him from his meditation. When Khyapa created magic mountains, rivers and fire, Shenrab transformed all of these into flowers, and when Māra's daughters tried to seduce Shenrab, he transformed them into six old ladies. When Māra Khyapa tried to attack Shenrab with a billion soldiers, he was unsuccessful and became anxious and concerned about his future. Aspects of Shenrab's later life are also taken directly from the legend of the Buddha, such as Khyapa's sceptical questioning of his 'enlightenment', the earth goddess appearing as Shenrab's witness, Khyapa appealing to Shenrab to leave the world early and Shenrab's rejection of this request. Another similarity is also evident from the episode of the five tigers in a Jātaka story of the Buddha from the *Jātakamālā* and from the sūtra *mDzangs blun*.

It is evident that these similarities are not coincidental, but that the legend of the life of the Buddha, which demonstrably existed before the *mDo 'dus,* influenced the legend of the life of Shenrab Miwo. Tibetan Bonpos seem to have taken the story of the life of the Buddha to be an account of the life of their founder Shenrab Miwo, and accordingly included it in the *mDo 'dus*.

## SECOND GROUP OF SOURCES

The discussion in chapter five has shown that the writing of the *mDo 'dus* was not only based on the legend of the Buddha, but also on fragments extracted from

various other Tibetan sources. These sources have mainly fed into subsidiary narrative elements, such as the family life of Shenrab and his relationship with the four kings, who not only became his fathers-in-law, but also became his patrons. The author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* also uses motifs and data also known from various other sources, such as old Tibetan documents, old Tibetan inscriptions and Tibetan literature or narrations containing popular story motifs. However, one cannot expect to trace the whole story line in its entirety from these sources. Only fragments, in some cases just names or a few short narratives, were woven together to build a larger narrative. Looking carefully at its structure, many stories relevant to this part seem to come from oral narratives. This part of the *mDo 'dus* clearly shows the process of incorporating foreign elements into Bon accounts. The major purpose for incorporating these stories obviously does not seem to be to present an accurate or even more credible account of the life of Shenrab, but to expand the scope and 'territory' of Bon teachings, activities and doctrinal views. In the process of incorporating foreign elements, the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* weaved the stories together in a way that seemed compatible with the life of Shenrab.

The author(s) linked the stories in a logical order and carefully considered the consequences of each story in advance. For instance, on one occasion, the King of *hos* requested Shenrab to be his official royal priest, but Shenrab sent his student Yikyi Khyeuchung to take the position in his place. Although it may be normal to ask one's student to take one's place, this replacement seems to be included mainly to avoid certain consequences. The author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* may have considered Shenrab unsuitable to become the victim of the accusations (see the section of the King of *hos*). Already at the time of writing the *mDo 'dus*, Shenrab was regarded by Bonpos as an 'enlightened' being, who knew everything in advance. So, Shenrab would not have allowed any immoral incidents to happen, and moreover, he would not have been able to resolve the problem of the Queen of *hos* skilfully, if he himself had been implicated in the problem, and he would not have had the opportunity to marry the Princess of *hos*, had he not solved the Queen's problem.

A very similar motif can be found in a story from the *bTsun mo bka' thang*. In this story the Queen of Tibet Tsepongza accused the monk Vairocana of sexual assault and as a consequence she became afflicted by a terrible disease. King Trisong Deutsen invited Padmasambhava to solve the problem. The similarity with the Bon narrative on Yikyi Khyeuchung extends to their literary composition and some common names also appear in both texts. This suggests that they both derive from another source, most likely in Tibetan, which in turn was influenced by the motif similar to that in the story of 'Joseph and Potiphar's Wife'. Bonpos also found a suitable way to connect this story to the King of *hos* and to Shenrab. This connection allowed the possibility of marriage with the *hos* princess and consequently the inclusion of two crucial figures: Tobu Bumsang and Chebu Trishay. The link to these two figures brought two important subjects, *gto* ritual and *dpyad* medical diagnosis, into the domain of Bon religious practice. Probably without being aware of its origins, early Bonpos seem to have taken this story as if it were a historical account of Shenrab's activities.

Through the meeting of Shenrab with the King of *dpo*, Bonpos could include and further appropriate the principal Buddhist concept of karma, or 'cause and effect.' This part of the story seems to have been fabricated intentionally, as it has no actual connection with the story of the *dpo* King. By doing so, the author(s) defended Bon as an organized system of belief and separated it from sacrificial ritual practice, and also demonstrated adherence to the Buddhist theories of karma and the existence of a life after death. Shenrab instructed the *dpo* King to confess in order to remove his negative karma. In return, he offered the *dpo* Princess to Shenrab, who bore him two sons, named Lungdren and Gyudren. The names of the two sons were probably conveniently invented, as they are considered to have become experts in Sūtra and Tantra. Through these two sons, Bonpos were able to import important classifications relating to the Buddhist canon, sūtra and tantra, into the domain of Shenrab's teachings.

The supposed relationship between Shenrab and the Chinese master

Kongtse (cf. Kǒng zǐ) facilitated the incorporation of Chinese astrology (Tib. *gtsug lag rtsis*) into the 'territory' of Bon. Bonpos attribute their astrology to Kongtse, and to his grand-son Trulbu Chung. Kongtse even became a patron and disciple of Shenrab, and is said to have built a holy castle. When his construction project was interfered with, he met a little boy who helped him to rebuild the castle. The latter part of the story reflects the influence of the Confucian story preserved in Pelliot tibétain 992 and Pelliot tibétain 1284. The way in which Shenrab met Kongtse and became his son-in-law is similar to the way he met the other two Kings. Kongtse invited Shenrab to consecrate the castle that he had built and to give his teachings, and in return Kongtse offered his daughter to Shenrab. This marriage resulted in the birth of a son, who is said to have become an expert on astrology, which in turn legitimized the inclusion of astrology into the repertoire of Bon teachings.

The King of Kongpo who is mentioned in the *mDo 'dus* is none other than the Kongje Karpo, mentioned in Dunhuang Tibetan documents and in the Kongpo inscription. Therefore, the accounts of this King were most likely based on early historical traditions and reinterpreted in a way that fitted Shenrab's account. The meeting of this King with Shenrab was simply an accident. According to the *mDo 'dus*, Shenrab chased the son of Māra to Kongpo because the Māra's son stole Shenrab's horses. Like in the other stories, the meeting of Shenrab and the King of Kongpo resulted in a new family relationship. Shenrab married the Princess of Kongpo and had a son from this union. Although this son has not been specifically linked to any teaching or practice of Bon, he is considered to be the genealogical ancestor of the present-day *gshen* family, one of the most important Bonpo families living today. This narrative of the King of Kongpo serves to add legitimacy to Shenrab's life story by tying it to a known historical figure and a specific place in Tibet.

In addition, these marriage stories of Shenrab also resemble the marriage stories of the early Tibetan kings of Yarlung dynasty, both with respect to the number of wives and their countries of origin, which were mostly outside of Tibet.

As the major purpose of the Tibetan kings when marrying women from other countries was to secure and extend their political ties with the neighbouring principalities, Shenrab's marriages also seem to have been a convenient means to secure and extend the boundaries of his influence. In other words, these marriage stories allowed early Bonpo authors to claim that Buddhist literature and disciplines like medicine and astrology actually originated from Bon and were taught by Shenrab Miwo. As stated above, the extension of Bon's sphere of knowledge may have been justified through marriage and the birth of special children. It is evident that the author(s) borrowed many different stories and motifs from older Tibetan sources and even possibly from the non-Tibetan literature to write the account of Shenrab Miwo.

## POSSIBLE ORIGINS OF THE NAMES

There are many names in the *mDo 'dus*. Some are identified as Shenrab's family members and ancestors, without these the hagiographical account would not be complete. Possible sources that the author(s) might have used for these names have been identified (see chapter six). The father's name is *mi bon lha bon* Gyalbön Thökar and he is said to be a descendant of the *dmu* and the *phya*, two important clans, according to old Tibetan sources.

The names are found in documents (e.g. Pelliot tibétain 1134) preserved in Dunhuang and in some other documents and traditions that survived otherwise. Some names have also been modified, such as the name *rgya bon brim tang*, which appears in Pelliot tibétain 1134 and which has become *rgyal/rgya bon thod dkar* in the account of Shenrab. Borrowing names from old Tibetan documents can also be seen elsewhere in the *mDo 'dus*. It is also clear that separate names were sometimes conjoined to form one name, and a single names split up to form several names. For example, we find the name *'chi med gshen gyi rmu rgyal tsha* and his father's name *mi bon lha bon* in the late 13th-century history by Khepa Dewu. The former name corresponds with the names of Chime Tsukphu and

Shenrab Miwo mentioned in the *mDo 'dus*, while the latter to the father of Shenrab, *mi bon lha bon* Gyalbön Thökar. Furthermore, both their family names also match, as they are both said to descend from the *dmu* family.

In terms of these names, Khepa Dewu's 13th-century history is closely linked to Pelliot tibétain 1134. Despite the fact that Khepa Dewu's text was written about two centuries after the closure of the Dunhuang cave in which Pelliot tibétain 1134 was enclosed, there still is a clear resonance of information in these two texts. This suggests that there may have been another intermediate source, linked to both these sources. This anonymous record may also have been older than the *mDo 'dus* and so possibly informed the author(s) of the *mDo 'dus* as well, regarding the name of Shenrab's father.

Like the father's name, the name of the mother *mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi* Gyalzhema, was also construed by repeating a phrase three times. The first two parts of the mothers name *mi phyi* and *lha phyi* follow a pattern similar to the first two parts of the father's name *mi bon* and *lha bon*.

The *mDo 'dus* features only two names from Shenrab's paternal lineage. In other Bon sources, this list was extended. This demonstrates the way in which the life account of Shenrab continued to develop. In the earlier sources, the lists are not consistent and probably are based on different sources. In the history of Bon by Shardza (Karmay 1985), these inconsistent lists were combined to create one list of ancestors. Furthermore, only the *mDo 'dus* claims that there were nine brothers in Shenrab's family and Shenrab was the youngest one. As this list of nine brothers overlaps with the list of the nine doctrinal teachings called 'the Nine Ways of Bon', the names of the nine brothers are certainly taken from these nine doctrinal teachings.

## EPILOGUE

To conclude, in this dissertation I do not try to prove whether Shenrab did or did not exist, or whether he actually founded the Bon religion. What I am trying to

understand is how the narrative accounts of the life of Shenrab Miwo that appear in the *mDo 'dus* emerged and were compiled from various sources. As I have demonstrated, most of these accounts originally did in fact not pertain to Shenrab Miwo, but rather were imported from elsewhere and then attributed to Shenrab. In other words, we can conclude that the *mDo 'dus* is a compilation of stories from various earlier written and probably also oral sources.

Even though I have managed to identify important sources that I argue have been used to write the first ever account of Shenrab Miwo, this research is still far from conclusive. Through my investigations, I am now more convinced than ever that more comparative study is required in order to fully understand the origins of the hagiography of Shenrab and the emergence of that complex tradition known to us today as Bon. I am aware that for this thesis I could only deal with a part of the full body of evidence that would be relevant to this wider scope of research. This wider scope required a careful and detailed comparative study of Bon accounts with Tibetan translations of the Buddhist canon, and also with other early Buddhist texts that have been preserved in various Asian languages but have not as yet been translated, or have only been translated into Tibetan incompletely.

Twenty years ago, in another part of the world and in different context, a prediction was made by a senior colleague (Martin 1991, dissertation). However, this important prediction seems to have been forgotten or in any case overlooked. To conclude, I should like to quote this 'call from afar' (Tib. *rgyangs 'bod*).

> It began over fifteen years ago, reached a particular turning point only recently, and will, if I may be allowed a fallible prediction, only find its realization in concrete results for scholarship (Buddhology in particular) during the next twenty years. My assumption is that some Bon scriptures or parts of the same which were excavated by the early Bonpo *gter-ston*s might actually represent, even if only in part, survivals of earlier translations of Buddhist scriptures done in the imperial and post-imperial times. Even though our understandings of the lines of textual transmission

> are not especially clear at present, still some shadowy outlines are beginning to emerge; I have become confident that these will gain substance with more careful and detailed studies (Martin 1991, p. 83).

Since this prediction was made, our knowledge certainly has matured further and I also hope that in some ways I have been able to revive and strengthen Dan Martin's call. It is important not only to understand how and why Bonpos and Buddhists diverged and developed separate identities, but also to establish in convincing detail which Buddhist texts were actually translated into Tibetan during the early centuries of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet. I expect that this type of comparative study will also reveal other aspects of Buddhist theory that may also have influenced the Bon doctrines and philosophy that appears in the *mDo 'dus*. I have not yet been able to study this wider scope of sources and their interactions, as this research, for obvious reasons, has had to be limited to the life account of Shenrab Miwo and its main early sources.

# Appendix 1: Comparative Table of the Eight Buddhas and the Nine Bon Tonpas

**Bo:** *mDo ̉dus* (pp. 32-33, pp. 38-45)

**Bu:** *Mahāpadānasuttanta* (Dīgha-Nikāya ch. xiv) and *Cakkavattisīhanādasutta* (Dīgha-Nikāya ch. xxvi)

| | **Times/aeons** | **Buddha** | **Life span (in years)** | **Pair of Noble disciples** | **Personal assistant** | **Father** | **Mother** | **Royal capital / palace / land** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Bo 1** | n/a | Nangwa Rangjung Thugjechen | 100,000 | n/a | n/a | King Rabsal | Lhamo Jamchenma | Pema Longchen/ the land of Sipakoe |
| **Bu 1** | 91 aeons ago | Buddha Vipassi | 80,000 | Khanda and Tissa | Monk Asoka | King Bandhuma | Queen Bandhumati | Bandhumati |
| **Bo 2** | n/a | Gewa Khorwa Kundren | 80,000 | n/a | n/a | *phya* King Gungsang | *dmu* Queen Trulmo | Dene Lhundrup / the land of Sipa *phya* |
| **Bu 2** | 31 aeons ago | Buddha Sikhi | 70,000 | Abhibhu and Sambhava | Khemankara | King Aruna | Queen Pabhavati | Arunavati |
| **Bo 3** | n/a | Kunshe Nyonmong Dugseg | 60,000 | n/a | n/a | *dmu* King Awadara | *phya* Lady Dangzangma | Lhatse Gukor / the land of Sipa *dmu* |
| **Bu 3** | thirty-first aeon | Buddha Vessabhu | 60,000 | Sona and Uttara | Upasannaka | King Suppatita | Queen Yasavati | Anopama |
| **Bo 4** | n/a | Legpa Tseme Thugjechen | 40,000 | n/a | n/a | King Öbar | Queen Salwoma | Tashi Tsegpa |

| **Bu 4** | present fortunate aeon | Buddhas Kakusandha | 40,000 | Vidhura and Sanjiva | Vuddhija | Brahmin Aggidatta | Brahmin lady Visakha | King Khema & his capital Khemavati |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Bo 5** | n/a | Nyompa Thamche Khyenzig | 20,000 | n/a | n/a | *rje'u rigs* Lhalu (Kṣatriya) | Kunshe Drangkhenma | Lhundrup Tsegpa |
| **Bu 5** | present fortunate aeon | Konagamana | 30,000 | Bhiyyosa and Uttara | Sotthija | Brahmin Yannadatta | Brahmin lady Uttara | King Sobha & his capital Sobhavati |
| **Bo 6** | n/a | Jampa Kunshe Thangpo | 10,000 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| **Bo 7** | n/a | Dagpa Togyal Yekhyen | 1000 years | n/a | n/a | Tochangshe Trulgyi Gyalpo | Yecham Kundragma | Lhatse Kundzog |
| **Bu 6** | present fortunate aeon | Kassapa | 20,000 | Tissa and Bharadvaja | Sabbamitta | Brahmin Brahmadatta | Brahmin Lady Dhanavati | King Kiki & his capital Caranasi |
| **Bo 8** | n/a | Salwa Shenrab Miwo | 100 | Malo & Yulo | Monk Yungdrung Tsugshen Gyalwa | Gyalbön Thökar | Yöchi Gyalzhema | Barpo Sogye |
| **Bu 7** | present fortunate aeon | Buddha Sakyamuni | 100 | Shariputra and Moggallana | Ánanda | King Suddhodana | Queen Maya | Kapilavatthu |
| **Bo 9** | n/a | Shepa Yene Sibuchung | 10 | n/a | n/a | King Dungkar Saldhen Öpag | *phya* Queen Muzer Thangmo | n/a |
| **Bu 8** | n/a | Metteyya | 8000 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |

## Appendix 2: Three Different Lists of Thirty-Three *bonpos*

[A list with some variations is also provided in Karmay 2007, pp. 152-53]

| *mDo 'dus* (pp. 53-54] | *mDo 'dus* Karmay (f. 27r - f. 27v) | *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal (f. 23v - f. 24r) |
|---|---|---|
| 1. dBal bon rom po | dBal bon rum bon | dBal bon rom po |
| 2. Yog bon gto rgyal | Yog bon gtor rgyal can | Yogs bon gto rgyal |
| 3. Khrin bon phya sangs | Khen bon phya sangs | Khrin bon phya sangs |
| 4. gNyer bon gto chen | gNyan bon gtơ chen | gNyer bon gtơ chen |
| 5. Ȍ bon 'brang gzu | Ȍ bon 'brang gzug | Ȍ bon 'brang gzu |
| 6. rTsis bon ye khru | rTse bon ye khri | rTsi bon ye 'khru |
| 7. bDud bon chu lcags | Chu lcam bdud bon chu lcam | bDud bon chu lcag |
| 8. dMu bon ye'u tan | dMu bon te'u can | dMu bon ye'u tan |
| 9. bTsan bon mtshal lcag | bTsan bon mtshon lcag | bTsan bon mtshal lcag |
| 10. Srin bon dmu cho | Sri bon mu co | Srid bon mu cho |
| 11. sKos bon gtsug sras | sKos bon gtsug sras | sKos bon gtsug sras |
| 12. Phya bon thod dkar | Phya bon thang dkar | Phya bon thod dkar |
| [13. Lha bon thod dkar is missing in all these three lists] | | |
| These thirteen are called *yar g.yen bonpos*, who subdue the heavenly spirits | | |
| 1. Zla bon tshe pa | Zla bon tshe pa | Zla bon tshes pa |
| 2. gNyi bon dra ma | gNyi bon drang ma | Nyi bon drang ma |
| 3. sKar bon gdang bkra | sKar bon gdung bkra' | sKar bon gdang bkra |
| 4. sPrin bon sa thub | Srin bon sa thul | sPrin bon ba thul |
| 5. gZha' bon khud tad | gZha' bon khug pa | gZha' bon gug tang |
| 6. Dal bon dbu gar | Dal bon dbu dkar | Dal bon dbư kar |
| 7. Zer bon gdang snyan | Zer bon gdung snyan | Zer bon gdang snyan |
| 8. Lo bon gto chen | Lo bon gto chen dang | Lo bon gto chen |
| 9. rDzi bon dang drug | rDzi bon dang drug | sDzi bon dang drug |
| These nine are called *bar g.yen bonpos* who subdue intermediate spirits | | |
| 1. Klu bon dbyar snyen gyim bu | Klu bon dbyar snyan gyi bu | Klu bon dbyar snya gyim bu |
| 2. gNyen bon thang thang khrol ba | gNyan bon thang thang grol ba | gNyan bon thang thang grol ba |
| 3. rGyal bon bong po | rGyal bon bod po | rGyal bon bong po |

| 4. sMan bon ʾbring dangs | sMan bon ʾbri ma dang | sMan bon ʾbring dang |
|---|---|---|
| 5. gZed bon la tsha | gZe bon | gZeg bon la tsa |
| 6. Srin bon ya ngal | Yang dal | Srid bon ya ngal |
| 7. Glud bon gyer mkhas | Glu bon gyi mkha’ | Glud bon gyer mkhas |
| 8. Byur bon li byin | Byung bon li byin | Byur bon li byin |
| 9. gShin bon smrig pa | gShen po smras pa | gShen bon smrig pa |
| 10. gTa’ bon byin khri | gTo bon byin khrol | gTo bon byi khrol |
| | Thar bon byin khrol | |
| 11. Thar bon gru skyol | Thar bon grub skyol | Thar bon grub skyol |
| These eleven are called *sa g.yen bonpos*, who subdue the earthly spirits | | |

# Appendix 3: Tibetan Bon Texts

## 3.1: Transliteration of the excerpts from the *mDo 'dus*

Note: I here provide excerpts in Wylie of the relevant chapters of the primary Tibetan texts of the *mDo 'dus*. These transliterations are mainly included here to allow the reader to check the paraphrases and translations that I present in this dissertation against the Tibetan, without having to refer to the original editions. I have chosen merely to juxtapose the excerpts from all the three versions that I have acquired so far and at this stage I do not yet attempt to edit them critically. I am, however, working on a critical edition of these texts, which is scheduled to appear in print separately.

| **Version 1: *mDo 'dus*** | **Version 2: *mDo 'dus* Karmay** | **Version 3: *mDo 'dus* Lhagyal** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| ***mDo 'dus*, Chapter vi (only relevant passage)** | | |
| [p. 40]<br>tshe lo nyi khri thub dus su/<br>rje'u rigs dra ma mnga' mdzad de/<br>'bru sna dgu la long yang spyod/<br>lha cig lha bo sgom lha sras/<br>gshen cig thugs rje rmad 'byung ste/<br>yab ni rje'u rigs lha lus ste/<br>yum ni kun shes drang mkhan ma/<br>sras byams pa thams cad mkhyen gzigs byung/ | [f.20a ]<br>tshe lo nyi khri thub dus su/<br>rje'u rigs dra ma mnga' mdzad/<br>'bru sna dgu la longs yang spyod/<br>lha gcig lha bon sgom lha sras/<br>gshen cig thugs rje rmad byung ste/<br>yab ni rje'u rigs lha lung ste/<br>yum ni kun shes drang mkhan ma/<br>sras ni byams pa thams cad mkhyen gzigs gyur/ | [f.17b]<br>tshe lo nyi khri thubs dus su%<br>rje'u rig dra mas mnga' mdzad de%<br>'bru sna dgu la long spyod do%<br>lha 1 lha'o sgom lha sras%<br>gshen 1 thugs rje rmad 'byung ste%<br>yab ni rje'u rig lha lus te%<br>yum ni kun shes drang mkhan ma%<br>sras byams pa thams cad mkhyen gzig 'gyur% |
| | | |

| *mDo 'dus*, Chapter vii (only relevant passage) | | |
|---|---|---|
| [p. 47] | [f.24b] | [f.21a] |
| tshe lo bzhi khri thub dus su/ | tshe lo bzhi khri thub dus su/ | tshe lo 4 khri thub dus su% |
| ston [p. 48] pa bram ze'i dkar bdag ni/ | ston pa bram zer rkor bdag ni/ | ston pa bram ze gor bdag ni% |
| dal 'byor skye zhes bya bar 'gyur/ | dal 'byor skye zhes bya ba gyur/ | dal 'byor skye zhes bya bar 'byung% |
| ston pa tshad med thugs rje can/ | ston pa tshad med thugs rje can/ | ston pa tshad med thugs rje can% |
| mu le grum shing nyag re phul/ | mu le drug shing nyag rog phul/ | mu le drum shing nyag re phul% |
| dge la spro ba'i brtson 'grus thob/ | de la spro ba brtson 'grus thob/ | dge la spro ba'i brtson 'grus thob% |
| sbyor lam kun bzang ye shes thob/ | spyod la kun bzang ye shes thob/ | sbyor lam kun bzang ye shes thob% |
| sa bzhi pa 'od 'phro thob par 'gyur/ | sa bzhi pa 'od 'phro thob pa 'gyur/ | sa 4 pa 'od 'phros thob par 'gyur% |
| tshe lo nyi khri thub dus su/ | tshe lo nyi khri thub dus su/ | tshe lo nyi khri thub dus su% |
| ston pa rje'u'i rigs blo ldan 'gyur/ | ston pa rje rig blo ldan 'gyur/ | ston pa rje'u rig blo ldan 'gyur% |
| ston pa thams cad mkhyen gzigs la/ | ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa gzigs/ | ston pa thams cad mkhyen gzig la% |
| 'bru'i phung po chen po phul/ | 'bru'i phung po chen po phul/ | 'bru'i phung po chen po phul% |
| thams cad mkhyen pa'i lung bstan pa/ | thams cad mkhyen pa lung [f.25a] bstan pa/ | thams cad mkhyen pas lung bstan pa% |

| *mDo 'dus* (Chapter viii) | | |
|---|---|---|
| [p. 50] | [f.26a] | [f.22a] |
| de nas ston pa gshen rab la | de nas ston pa gshen rab la/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab la% |
| gsang ba mdo sdud kyis zhus pa/ | gsung ba mdo sdud zhus pa las/ | gsang ba mdo sdud kyi zhus pa% |
| e ma ston pa gshen rab rdzogs/ | e ma ston pa gshen rab lags/ | e ma ston pa gshen rab rdzogs% |
| 'gro ba'i don la cir yang sprul/ | 'gro ba don la ci yang sprul/ | 'gro ba'i don la cir yang sprul% |
| bye ba phrag brgyas 'gro don mdzad/ | bye ba phrag brgya 'gro don mdzad/ | bye ba phrag brgyas 'gro don mdzad% |
| cir yang [51] sprul pa'i sku la bstod/ | cir yang sprul pa sku la bstod/ | cir yang sprul pa'i sku la bstod% |

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| sems dpa' 'chi med gtsug phud ni/ | sems dpa' 'chi med gtsug phud ni/ | sems dpa' 'chi med gtsug phud ni% |
| gshen rab ston pa ci ltar 'khrungs/ | gshen rab ston pa ci ltar 'khrungs/ | gshen rab ston par [f.22b] ci ltar 'khrungs% |
| mdzad pa thams cad bshad du gsol/ | mdzad pa thams cad bshad du gsol/ | mdzad pa thams cad bshad du gsol% |
| zhes zhus// ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa% |
| kye ma 'dus pa'i 'khor rnams nyon/ | e ma 'dus pa 'khor rnams nyon/ | kye ma 'dus pa'i 'khor rnam nyon% |
| gang gis gto rgyal ye mkhyen pa'i/ | gang gi gto rgyal ye mkhyen gyi/ | gong gi gto rgyal ye mkhyen gyi% |
| bstan pa stong pa rdzogs 'gyur nas/ | bstan pa'i ston pa rdzogs 'gyur nas/ | bstan pa ston pa rdzogs 'gyur nas/ |
| 'og men lha'i gnas mchog du/ | 'og min lha'i gnas mchog du/ | 'og men lha'i gnas mchog du% |
| ston pa gto rgyal ye mkhyen nyid/ | ston pa gtol rgyal ye mkhyen nyid/ | ston pa gto' rgyal ye mkhyen nyid% |
| bdag dri med gtsug phud spyan sngar byon/ | bdag dri med gtsug phud sbyongs ngar byon/ | bdag dri med gtsug phud spyan sngar byon% |
| nga'i 'dzam gling bye ba ru/ | nga'i 'dzam gling bye ba ru/ | nga'i 'dzam gling bye ba ru% |
| 'gro ba 'dren par rdzogs 'gyur pas/ | 'gro ba 'dren pa rdzogs gyur pa/ | 'gro ba 'dren pa rdzogs 'gyur pas% |
| mya ngan 'das pa'i tshul yang bstan/ | mya ngan 'da' ba tshul yang ston/ | mya ngan 'da' ba'i tshul yang bstan/ |
| gsal ba dri med gtsug phud khyod/ | gsal ba dri med gtsug phud kyi/ | gsal ba dri med gtsug phud khyod% |
| thams cad mkhyen gzigs lung bstan dgongs mdzod la/ | thams cad mkhyen gzigs [f.26b] lung bstan nas/ | thams cad mkhyen gzig lung bstan dgong mdzod la% |
| gzigs pa lnga dang dgongs pa lnga/ | gzigs pa lnga dang dgong pa lnga/ | gzig pa lnga dang dgong pa lngas% |
| mdzam gling bstan pa gshegs pa mdzod/ | 'dzam gling ston pa gshegs pa mdzad/ | 'dzam gling ston par gsheg par mdzod% |
| gling la dgongs pas 'dzam bu gling/ | gling la dgongs pa 'dzam bu gling/ | gling la dgongs pa 'dzam bu gling/ |
| yul la dgongs pa 'ol mo'i lung/ | yul la dgong pa 'ol mo lung ring nas/ | yul la dgongs pa 'ol mo'i lung/ |
| ri ni g.yung drung rgu brtsegs ri/ | g.yung drung dgu rtse ri/ | ri ni g.yung drung rgu rtseg ri% |
| mkhar ni bar so brgyad du red/ | mkhar ni bar po so brgyad du/ | mkhar ni bar po so brgyad du% |
| [52] rigs la dgongs pa rgyal rigs ste/ | rigs la dgong pa rgyal rig ste/ | rig la dgongs pa rgyal rig ste% |
| dus ni tshe lo brgya pa'i dus/ | dus ni tshe lo brgya pa'i dus/ | dus ni tshe lo brgya pa'i dus% |

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| yab ni rgyal bon thod dkar yab/ | yab ni rgyal po thod dkar yab/ | yab ni rgyal bon thod dkar yab% |
| yum ni yo phyi rgyal bzhad yum/ | yum ni yo phye rgyal bzhad yum/ | yum ni yo phyi rgyal bzhad yum% |
| ces gsungs dri med gtsug phud gyis/ | ces gsung dri med gtsug phud kyi/ | ces gsung dri med gtsug phud kyi/ |
| gcung shes pa dag la dbu rgyan bskon/ | gcang shes dag la dbu rgyan bskor/ | gcung shes pa dag la dbu rgyan bskon% |
| nga'i tshab tu gcung khyod kyis/ | nga'i 'tshab tu gcong khyod kyi/ | nga'i tshab du [f.23a] gcung khyod kyang% |
| lha rnams 'dren pa'i ston pa gyis/ | lha rnams 'dren pa ston pa gyi/ | lha rnam 'dren pa'i ston pa gyis% |
| nga'i 'dzam bu'i gling du ni/ | nga'i 'dzam bu gling du ni/ | nga'i 'dzam bu gling du ni% |
| bstan pa rnams gsum rdzogs rjes la/ | ston pa rnam gsum rdzogs rje la/ | bstan pa rnams 3 rdzogs rjes la% |
| shes pa ye gnas srid bu chung// | shes pa ye gnas srin bu chung/ | shes pa ye gnas srid bu chung% |
| tshe lo bcu pa 'dren par shog/ | tshe lo bcu pa 'dren pa shog/ | tshe lo bcu pa'i 'dren par shog% |
| ces brjod rang gis lus po yang/ | ces brjod rang gis las pa yang/ | ces brjod rang gi lus po yang% |
| ri rab kha la bzhag par gyur te/ | ri rab kha ru bzhan 'gyur te/ | ri rab kha la bzhag gyur te% |
| bsam zhing skye ba'i 'chi 'phro mdzad/ | bsam zhing skye ba'i 'chi 'phros mdzod/ | bsam zhing skye ba'i 'chi 'pho mdzad% |
| nga ni longs spyod rdzogs gyur tshe/ | nga ni longs spyod rdzogs gyur tshe/ | nga ni longs spyod rdzogs gyur tshe% |
| lus 'di seng ge pad gdan gyur/ | lus 'di seng ge pad gdan 'gyur/ | lus 'di sing ghe pad gdan gyur% |
| smon lam btab te lus tor do/ | smon lam btab ste lus dor to/ | smon lam btab ste lus dor to% |
| thugs ni 'od kyis ye shes sku/ | thug ni 'od kyi ye shes sku/ | thug ni 'od gyi ye shes sku% |
| kun bzang gshen lha'i thugs kar thim/ | kun bzang gshen lha thug dkar thim/ | kun bzang shen lha'i thugs kar thim% |
| | | blo gsal 'chi med gtsug phud kyang% |
| thugs rje thabs kyi sprul pa cig/ | thugs rje thabs kyi [f.27a] sprul pa gcig/ | thugs rje thabs kyi sprul pa cig% |
| gzung ni yi ge a dkar gyur/ | gsungs ni yi ge a dkar gyur/ | syang (gsung) ni yi ge a dkar gyur% |
| sing ga'i lta stang kyis gzigs ste/ | snyin rje lnga stong gi gzigs ste/ | sing ge'i lta stangs kyi gzigs ste% |
| ri rab ri'i rtse mo nas/ | ri rab ri'i rtse mo nas/ | ri rab ri'i rtse mo na% |
| dbang po drug la spros pa'i/ | dbang po drug la spros pa yi/ | dbang po drug la spros pa'i% |

| [53] 'gro ba 'dren pa'i gshen drug sprul/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba gshen drug sprul/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba'i gshen du sprul% |
|---|---|---|
| lha la gsal 'bar kun shes dang/ | lha la gsal ba kun shes dang/ | lha la gsal 'bar gun shes dang% |
| lha men mu sangs lce 'bar dang/ | lha min mun sangs lce 'bar dang/ | lha men mu sang lce 'bar dang% |
| mi la gshen rab mi bo dang/ | mi la gshen rab mi bo dang/ | mi la gshen rab mi bo dang% |
| byol song la ti sgron ma dang/ | byol song ti sangs sgron ma dang/ | byol song la ting sang sgron ma dang% |
| yid dag grang 'dzin byin spung dang/ | yid dag 'jig rten dbyings spos te/ | yid dag grang 'dzin byin spong de% |
| dmyal ba la byams pa ngang 'dzam mo/ | dmyal ba byams pa dang 'jal lo/ | dmyal ba la byams pa ngang 'jam mo% |
| gnas rig sum bcu rtsa gsum la/ | gnas rig sum bcu rtsa gsum ru/ | [f.23b] gnas ris sum bcu so 3 du% |
| 'dul ba'i bon po sum bcu rtsa gsum sprul/ | 'dul ba gshen po sum bcu rtsa gsum sprul/ | 'dul ba'i gshen po sum bcu rtsa 3 sprul% |
| 'khor kyis dang po 'dul ba'i phyir/ | 'khor gyi dang po 'dul ba'i phyir/ | 'khor gyi dang po 'dul ba'i phyir% |
| nam mkha'i ba dan dang/ | nam mkha' ba dan can dang/ | nam mkha'i ba dan dang% |
| khyung gis ru mtshon can dang/ | khyung gi ru mtshon can dang/ | khyung gi ru mtshon can % |
| rma bya'i ldem rgyang can/ | rma bya ldem brgyang can dang/ | rma bya'i ldem rgyang can dang% |
| rgod kyis 'phar 'dab can/ | | rgod gyi 'phar 'dab can% |
| zo bo sbar shad can dang// | zo bo spar shed can dang/ | zo'o sbar shad can dang rnga stong ri chem pa can% |
| dbal so mdung rtse can dang/ | | |
| gsas mda' dung yug can dang/ | | |
| rnga stong ri chem pa can/ | rnga stong ri chem pa can dang/ | |
| gshang khri lo gnam grag can/ | gshang khro lo gnam grag can dang/ | gshang khri lo gnam grag can dang% |
| dung 'phar po 'phar grags can dang/ | dung 'phar po 'phar chung can dang/ | dung 'phar po 'phar grag can % |
| yang rgyal 'brug slag can dang/ | yang rgyal 'brug slag can dang/ | yang rgyal 'brug slag can dang che rgyal bya zhu can% |
| che rgyal rgod zhu can dang/ | che rgyal rgod zhu can/ | |
| gcod pa khra slag can dag go/ | gcod pa khrag slag can dang/ | gcod pa khra slag can dag go% |
| 'khor gyis bar pa 'dul ba'i phyir/ | | 'khor gyi bar pa 'dul ba'i phyir% |

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| dbal bon rom po yog bon [54] gto rgyal dang/ | gang dbal bon rum bon [f.27b] yog bon gtor rgyal can dang/ | dbal bon rom po yogs bon gto rgyal dang% |
| khrin bon phya sangs dang/<br>gnyer bon gto chen dang/ | khen bon phya sangs dang/<br>gnyan bon gto' chen dang/ | khrin bon phya sangs gnyer bon gto' chen dang% |
| 'o bon 'brang gzu<br>rtsis bon ye khru dang/ | 'o bon 'brang gzug/<br>rtse bon ye khri dang | 'o bon 'brang gzu rtsi bon ye 'khru dang% |
| bdud bon chu lcags<br>dmu bon ye'u tan/ | chu lcam bdud bon chu lcam/<br>dmu bon te'u can dang | bdud bon chu lcag dmu bon ye'u tan dang% |
| btsan bon mtshal lcag<br>srin bon dmu cho dang/ | btsan bon mtshon lcag/<br>sri bon mu co dang/ | btsan bon mtshal lcag srid bon mu cho dang% |
| skos bon gtsug sras<br>phya bon thod dkar dang/ | skos bon gtsug sras/<br>phya bon thang dkar dang/ | skos bon gtsug sras phya bon thod dkar dang% |
| zla bon tshe pa gnyi bon dra ma dang/ | zla bon tshe pa gnyi bon drang ma dang/ | zla bon tshes pa nyi bon drang ma dang% |
| skar bon gdang bkra sprin bon sa thub dang/ | skar bon gdung bkra' srin bon sa thul dang/ | skar bon gdang bkra sprin bon ba thul dang% |
| gzha' bon khud tad<br>dal bon dbu gar dang/ | gzha' bon khug pa/<br>dal bon dbu dkar dang/ | gzha' bon gug tang dal bon dbu' [f.24a] kar dang% |
| zer bon gdang snyan lo bon gto chen dang/ | zer bon gdung snyan/ lo bon gto chen dang/ | zer bon gdang snyan lo bon gto chen dang% |
| rdzi bon dang drug dang/ | rdzi bon dang drug go/ | sdzi bon dang drug go% |
| bar g.yen gtod dgu 'dul/ | | |
| 'khor gyis tha ma 'dul ba'i phyir/ | 'khor gyi tha ma 'dul ba'i phyir/ | 'khor gyi tha ma 'dul pa'i phyir% |
| klu bon dbyar snyen gyim bu dang/ | klu bon dbyar snyan gyi bu dang/ | klu bon dbyar snya gyim bu dang% |
| gnyen bon thang thang khrol ba dang/ | gnyan bon thang thang grol ba dang/ | gnyan bon thang thang grol ba dang% |
| rgyal bon bong po sman bon 'bring dangs dang/ | rgyal bon bod po/ sman bon 'bri ma dang/ | rgyal bon bong po sman bon 'bring dang dang% |

| gzed bon la tsha srin bon ya ngal dang/ | gze bon yang dal dang/ | gzeg bon la tsa srid bon ya ngal dang% |
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| glud bon gyer mkhas byur bon li byin dang/ | glu bon gyi mkha' byung bon li byin dang/ | glud bon gyer mkhas byur bon li byin dang% |
| gshin bon smrig pa gta' bon byin khri dang/ | gshen po smras pa gto bon byin khrol dang/ | gshen bon smrig pa gto bon byi khrol dang% |
|  | thar bon byin khrol dang/ |  |
| thar bon gru skyol/ | thar bon grub skyol lo/ | thar bon grub skyol lo/ |
| de ltar sum bcu rtsa gsum sprul/ | de ltar sum bcu rtsa sum sprul/ | de ltar sum cu rtsa 3 sprul% |
| [55] gshen rab bka' la thams cad btags/ | [f.28a] gshen rab bka' la thams cad btag/ | gshen rab bka' las thams cad btag% |
| 'dzam gling nub byang phyog 'ol mo lungs su/ | 'dzam gling byang phyogs 'ol mo lung rings su/ | 'dzam gling byang phyog 'ol mo lung ring su/ |
| yab myes gdung rgyud dmu'i rigs/ |  | yab myes gdung rgyud dmu'i rig% |
| myes dmu rgyal lan kyis thems pa skas/ |  | myes dmu rgyal lan gyi them pa skar% |
| phya a lde khyab pa'i sras mo ni/ |  | phya a lde khyab pa'i sras mo ni% |
| phya za ngang 'brang ma la ni/ |  | phya za ngang 'brang ma la ni% |
| sras me bon lha bon rgyal bon thod dkar 'khrungs/ | sras mi bon lha bon rgyal po thod dkar 'khrungs/ | sras mi bon lha bon rgyal bon thod dkar 'khrung% |
| de'i 'phrul gshen snang ldan la// | de 'phrul gshen snang ldan lag/ | de'i 'phrul gshen snang ldan la% |
| gto rgyud spyad rgyud mkhas par bslab/ | gto' rgyud smras rgyu mkhas pa slob/ | gto'i rgyud smrang rgyud mkhas par slab% |
| mtsho mu lo stong ldan 'gram nas ni/ | mtsho mu le stob ldan 'gram nas ni/ | mtsho mu le stong ldan 'gram nas ni% |
| yab ni rgyal pos sa la dang/ | yab ni rgyal po sa la dang/ | yab ni rgyal po sa la dang% |
| yum ni btsun mo ghir ti ma/ | yum ni btsun mo 'gheng ti ma/ | yum ni btsun mo 'gir [f.24b] ti ma/ |
| sras ni rgyal bu gsal khyab mtshan/ | sras ni rgyal bu gsal khyab mtshan/ | sras ni rgyal bu gsal khyab mtshan% |
| sras mo gsal ba'i 'od ldan mo/ | sras mo gsal ba 'od ldan ma/ | sras mo gsal ba'i 'od ldan mo% |
| rgyal bon thod dkar btsun mor byin/ | rgyal po thod dkar btsun mo byin/ | rgyal bon thod dkar btsun mor byin% |
| mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi rgyal bzhad ma ru thogs/ | mi phye lha phye yo phye rgyal gzhan ma ru thob/ | mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi rgyal bzhad ma ru thogs% |

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| yab yum mtshan ldan bar po so brgyad du/ | yab yum mtshan ldan bar po so brgyad du/ | yab yum mtshan ldan bar po so brgyad du% |
| 'gro don thugs dgongs gzim mal byas pa gzigs/ | 'gro don thug dgongs zi ma byas pa'i gzigs/ | 'gro don thugs dgong gzim mal byas pa gzig% |
| thugs nyid yi ge a dkar po/ | thug nyid yi ger a dkar po/ | thugs nyid yi ge a dkar po/ |
| 'od kyi gsang lam dkar po la/ | 'od gyi gsang lam dkar po la/ | 'od gyi gsang lam dkar po la% |
| yab kyis spyi bo'i gtsug tu thim/ | | yab gyi spyi'o gtsug du thim% |
| tshangs [56] pa lha lam dkar po zhug/ | tshangs pa lha lam dkar po zhus/ | tshangs pa lha lam dkar por zhugs% |
| byang chub sems gyis thig ler zhug/ | byang chub sems kyi thig le zhu/ | byang chub sems kyi thig le zhu% |
| yum kyis mkha' ru chags pa la/ | yum gyi mkhar ru chags pa la/ | yum gyi mkha' ru chags pa la% |
| g.yung drung dkar po 'od 'bar 'gyur | g.yung drung dkar po 'od 'bar 'gyur/ | g.yung drung dkar po 'od 'bar 'gyur |
| yul gyis lhums su zhug pa'o// | yum gyi lhams su zhug pa'o/ | yum gyi lhum su zhug pa'o% |
| de dus rmi lam nor bu rin chen gzi 'bar rnyed/ | de tu rmi lam nor bu rin chen gzig 'bar rnyed/ | de dus rmi lam la nor bu gzi 'bar rnyed% |
| sing ge dkar po mkha' las byung nas thim/ | sengha'i dkar po mkhar las byung nas thim/ | sing ge dkar po mkha' la byung nas thim% |
| a dkar 'od kyis nyi zla gsal shar bas/ | a dkar 'od gyi nyi zla gsal shar ba/ | a dkar 'od kyi nyi zla gsal shar bas% |
| 'jig rten mun pa thams cad bsal ba dang/ | 'jig rten mun pa [f.28b] thams cad bsal ba dang/ | 'jig rten mun pa thams cad gsal ba dang% |
| g.yung drung dkar po rnyed dang dge rtags mang du byung/ | g.yung drung dkar po brnyed dang rge rtag mang du byung/ | g.yung drung dkar po rnyed pa dang dge rtag mang du byung% |
| mkhar sgo g.yas su u du 'bar ba 'khrung/ | mkhar sgo g.yas su u du 'bar ba dbus/ | mkhar sgo g.yas su u du 'bar ra dbus/ |
| dbus mkhar sgo g.yan du 'dzam bu'i shing yang rdol// | mkhar sgo g.yon du 'dzam bu shing yang brdol/ | mkhar sgo g.yon du 'dzam bu shing yang rdol% |
| rmad du byung ba'i cho 'phrul sna tshogs byung/ | rmad du byung ba cho 'phrul sna tshogs 'byung/ | rmad du byung ba'i cho 'phrul [f.25a] sna tshog byung% |
| lhums su zla bcu blo gros ldan cing sku bltam | lhams su zla bcu blo gros ldan pa ci sku | lhums su zla bcu blo gros ldan cing sku bltam |

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| te/ | ldum te/ | ste% |
| bar po so brgyad bkra shis mkhar par rin chen ka ba brten te/ | bar po so brgyad bkra shis khang pa rin chen ka ba rten/ | bar po so brgyad bkra shis khang par rin ces ka ba la brten te% |
| 'byung bzhi lha mos sku brten mchan khung g.yas su bltam/ | 'byung bzhi sku brten mtshan khung g.yas su bltam/ | 'byung bzhi lha mos sku brten mchan khung g.yas su bltam% |
| tshangs pa rgya byin phyag gis dar dkar lcib kyi sku phyis blangs/ | tshangs pa rgya byin phyag gis dar dkar sku phyed blangs/ | tshangs pa rgyal byin phyag gis dar kar sku phyis blang/ |
| klu mo kun shes [57] ma yis sku khrus gsol/ | klu mo kun shes ma yi sku khrus gsol/ | klu mo kun shes ma'i sku khrus gsol/ |
| lha mi gshen gyi bkra shis g.yang blan lha'i nab bza' gsol/ | bkra shis g.yang blan lha'i nab bza' gsol/ | bkra shis g.yang blan lha'i nab bza' gsol% |
| sa la gshegs tsa g.yung drung pad ma phyogs bzhir bkra/ | sa la gshen tsa g.yung drung pad ma phyogs bzhi bkra'/ | sa la gsheg tshe g.yung drung pad ma phyog 4r bkra% |
| khri smon rgyal bzhad sgo drung bram ze gsal bas mtshan ltas brtag te/ | khri smin rgyal bzhing sgo drug du bram ze gsal bltas te/ | khri smon rgyal bzhad sgo drung bram ze gsal bas ltas bltas ste% |
| mtshan bltas shis pa brjod gshen rab ston pa 'byung ngo zhes// | mtshan ltas shis pa brjod de gshen rab 'byung ngo zhes/ | mtshan bltas shis par brjod de gshen rab byung ngo zhes% |
| bram ze'i rgyal rigs kun 'dus rgyan dang gtsug phud btag/ | bram ze rgyal rig kun 'dul rgyan dang gtsug phud btag/ | bram ze rgyal rig kun 'dus rgyan dang gtsug phud btag% |
| 'byung ba'i gshen lngas bkra shis dpal bskyed de legs pa brjod/ | 'byung ba gshen ltas bkra shis [f.29a] dpal skyes leg pa brjod/ | 'byung pa'i gshen lngas bkra shis dpal bskyed legs pa brjod% |
| nam mkha'i ba dan can la sogs pa yang/ | nam mkha'i ba dan can la sogs pa/ | nam mkha'i ba dan can la sogs pa'i% |
| bar po so brgyad mkhar la skor kyin shis pa brjod/ | bar po so brgyad mkhar la bskor zhes shis pa brjod/ | bar po so brgyad mkhar la bskor gyin shis par brjod% |
| lha klu dri za'i bu dang bu mos mkha' la me | lha klu dri za bu dang bu mo mkhar la sgra | lha klu dri za'i bu dang bu mos mkha' la sgra |

| | | |
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| tog char 'babs so/<br>bkra shis zhal dro mdzad pa dang po yin/<br>gzhon nur gyur tse yig rtsis 'phong rtsal kun la sbyangs/<br>dgung lo gsum la grong khyer lang ling la sku 'chags ste/<br>rgya mtsho mu le had du khrus byas/<br>rgyal po sa la phyag 'tshal te/<br>sa chu me rlung nam mkha'i [58] lha mos 'dud cing du/<br>rlung bon phyod de sangs rgyas g.yu rnga phul/<br>chu bon bdud rtsi zil pa can gyis bum pa phul/<br>sa bon rin chen thor tsug tsan gyis zhal zas phul/<br>me bon 'od kyi ljang lo can kyi sa dan phul/<br>'byung ba lnga rnams thams cad bon du bsgyur//<br>ston pa byang phyogs sgra mi bsnyan du gshegs 'gyur de/<br>bdud rtsi za zhing shing lo gyon pa dang/<br>mi rnams tshe lo stong thub smon lam btabs/ | snyan me tog char phab so/<br>bkra shis zhal dro mdzad pa dang po yin/<br>gzhon nu gyur tshe yig rtsis 'phung rtsa kun la sbyong/<br>rgo lo gsum la grong khyer lang ling sku 'chag ste/<br>rgya mtsho mu le had du khrus byas/<br>rgyal po sa la phyag 'tshal lo/<br>sa chu me rlung lha mo 'dus cing dus/<br>rlung bon phyag de gsungs rgyal g.yu rta phul/<br>chu bo bdud rtsi zin pa can gyi bum pa phul/<br>sa bon rin chen thor tsug can gyi zhal za phul/<br>me bon 'od gyi ljang lo can gyi ba dan phul/<br>'byung ba lnga rnams thams cad bon du bsgyur/<br>ston pa byang phyog sgra mi snyan du gsheg 'gyur te/<br>bdud rtsi zang zhing shing lo gyon pa dang/<br>mi rnams tshe lo stong thub smon lam btab/ | bsnyan me tog char bab so%<br>bkra shis zhal dro mdzad pa dang po yin%<br>gzhon nur gyur tshe yig rtsis 'phol rtsal kun la sbyangs%<br>dgung lo 3 la grong khyer la ling sku 'chags ste%<br>rgya mtsho mu le had du khrus byas rgyal po sa la phyag 'tshal te%<br>sa chu me rlung nam mkha'i lha mos 'dud cing du%<br>rlung bon phyod de gsang rgyal g.yu rnga phul%<br>chu bon bdud rtsi zil pa can gyi bum pa phul%<br>sa bon rin chen thor tsug can gyis zhal zas phul%<br>mye bon 'od gyi lcang lo can gyi ba dan phul%<br>'byung ba lnga rnams thams cad bon du bsgyur%<br>ston pa byang phyog sgra mi bsnyan du gshegs gyur ste%<br>bdud rtsi za zhing shing lo gyon pa dang%<br>mi rnams tshe lo thub smon lam btab% |

| nga dang bdag tu 'dzin pa med pa'i bon bshed/ | nga dang bdag tu 'dzin pa med pa bon bshad do/ | nga dang bdag tu 'dzin pa med pa'i bon bshed de% |
|---|---|---|
| ban glang spyon byon longs spyod che ba dang/ | ban glang spyod du byon pa longs spyod che ba dang/ | ban glang spyon byon longs spyod che ba dang% |
| sbyin pa rab tu gtong ba'i bon bshad do/ | sbyin pa [f.29b] rab tu gtong ba'i bon bshad do/ | sbyin pa rab tu gtong pa'i bon bshad do% |
| tshe lo lnga brgya thub pa'i smon lam btab/ | tshe lo lnga brgya thub pa'i smon lam btab/ | tshe lo lnga brgya' thub pa'i smon lam btab% |
| de nas shar phyogs lus 'phags po ru byon/ | de nas shar phyog lus phag po ru byon/ | de nas shar phyog lus 'phag po ru byon% |
| bzod pa sgom shig gzugs bzang thob ces bon bshed do/ | bzod pa sgom shing gzugs bzang thob cing bon bshad do/ | bzod pa sgom 1 gzug bzang thob ces bon bshad do% |
| tshe lo gnyis brgya lnga bcu thub pa'i smon lam btabs/ | tshe lo gnyis brgya lnga bcu thub pa'i smon lam btab/ | tshe lo [f.26a] 2 brgya lnga bcu thub pa'i smon lam btab% |
| de nas 'ol mo gling du byon 'gyur nas/ | de nas 'ol mo gling du byon gyur nas/ | de nas 'ol mo gling du byon gyur nas% |
| gshen rab dgu (dgung) lo bcu la rgyal bar phyung/ | gshen rab rgod (dgung) lo rgyal sar phyung/ | gshen rab dgu lo bcu las rgyal sar phyung% |
| 'ol mo lung gis mi rnam(s) thams cad rab tu 'dus/ | 'ol mo lung ring gi mi rnams thams cad rab du 'dus/ | 'ol mo lung gi mi rnams thams cad rab du 'dus% |
| spos dri me [59] tog char bab 'ja' tshon 'khrig/ | spos dri me tog char phabs 'ja' tshan 'khrungs/ | spos dri me tog char bab 'ja' tshon 'khrig% |
| de dus myes rgyal lan kyis thems pa skar/ | de dus dmu rgyal gyi thub pa sku/ | de dus myes dmu rgyal lan gyi them pa skar% |
| rgyal po sa la 'khor dang bcas pa rnams/ | rgyal po sa la 'khor dang bcas pa rnams/ | rgyal po sa la 'khor dang bcas pa rnams% |
| phung po lhag med sa la mngon rdzogs so/ | phung po lhag med la mngon rdzogs so/ | phung po lhag med sa la mngon rdzogs so% |
| g.yung drung lha'i bon/ mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las/ | g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo' 'dus pa rin po che rgyud las/ | g.yung drung lha'i bon% mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las% |

| gshen rab ston pa sku ci ltar 'khrungs pa'i le'u ste brgyad pa'o//// | 'gro don mdzad pa'i le'u ste brgyad pa'o/ | gshen rab ston pa'i sku ci tar 'khrung pa'i le'u ste brgyad pa'o// |
|---|---|---|
| ***mDo 'dus*, (Chapter ix)** | | |
| [p. 59] | [f. 29b] | [f.26a] |
| de nas ston pa gshen rab la/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab lags/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab la% |
| hos dang pa(ba) yid ring kyis zhus pa'i mdo'// | hos dad pa (ba) yid ring zhus pa'i mdo'/ | hos dang pa yid ring gyi zhus pa'i mdo'% |
| de nas ston pa gshen rab nyid | de nas ston pa gshen rab la/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab nyid/ |
| yab rgyal bon thod dkar la/ | yab cig rgyal po thod kar la/ | yab cig rgyal bon thod dkar la% |
| rin po che'i na bza' phul/ | rin po che'i nam bza' phul/ | rin po che'i na bza' phul% |
| lha'i zhal zas phul byas ste/ | lha'i zhal zas phul byas te/ | lha'i zhal zas phul byas ste% |
| yab myes rgyud gyis bon rnams nyon/ | yab med rgyud gyi bon rnams nyon/ | yab myes rgyud gyi bon rnams nyan% |
| smrang rgyud 'bum la mkhas par gyur/ | smran rgyud 'bum la mkhas pa 'gyur/ | smrang rgyud 'bum la mkhas par gyur% |
| de nas gcung po rma lo g.yu lo 'khrung/ | de nas gang (gcung) po rma lo g.yul lo khrung/ | de nas gcung po rma lo g.yu lo 'khrung% |
| bkra shis zhal sros mdzad pa la/ | bkra shis zhal sros mdzad pa las/ | bkra shis zhal sros mdzad pa las% |
| shar phyogs gling nas skyes bu cig/ | shar phyog gling la [f.30a] skyes bu gcig/ | shar phyog gling la skyes [f.26b] bu 1% |
| sangs po 'bum khri'i sprul pa ste/ | sangs po 'bum khri sprul pa ste/ | sangs po 'bum khri'i sprul pa ste% |
| gshen za ngang ring ma'i sras/ | gshen za ngang ring ma'i sras/ | gshen za ngang ring ma'i sras% |
| yid kyis khye'u chung rdzu 'phrul can | yid gyi khye'u chung rdzu 'phrul can/ | yid gyi khye'u chung rdzu 'phrul can% |
| [60] yi ge 'phrul slag sku la gyon/ | yi ge 'phrul slag sku la gyon/ | yi ge 'phrul slag sku la gyon% |
| skos gyis chags shing phyag na bsnams/ | skon kyi chag shing phyag na 'dzin/ | skos kyi chag shing phyag na 'dzin% |
| 'brug rta sngon po chibs su bcib/ | 'brug rta sngon po chibs su bcing (bcib/ | 'brug rta sngon po chibs su bcib% |
| ston pa'i mdun du shar gyis byung/ | ston po (pa'i) mdun du shar gyi byung/ | ston pa'i mdun du shar gyi byung% |

| lha phyag 'tshal nas chags shing phul/ | lha phyag 'tshal nas chag shing phul/ | lha phyag 'tshal nas chag shing phul% |
|---|---|---|
| e ma ston pa thams cad mkhyen/ | e ma ston pa thams cad mkhyen/ | e ma ston pa thams cad mkhyen% |
| mi shes mun sel ye shes sgron// | mun shes mun sel ye shes sgron// | mi shes mun sel ye shes sgron% |
| gsal ba'i 'od ldan ye shes spyan/ | gsal ba 'od ldan ye shes spyan/ | gsal ba'i 'od ldan ye shes spyan% |
| 'gro don gzigs la phyag 'tshal lo/ | 'gro don gzig la phyag 'tshal lo/ | 'gro don gzig la phyag 'tshal lo% |
| bdag ni yid kyis khye'u chung yin/ | bdag ni yid gyi khye'u chung yin/ | bdag ni yid gyi khye'u chung yin% |
| gshen rab tshang pa bya'i rgyud/ | gshen rab tsha ma phya'i rgyud/ | gshen rab tsha la phya'i rgyud% |
| sangs po 'bum khri'i sprul pa ste/ | sangs po 'bum khri sprul pa ste/ | sangs po 'bum khri'i sprul pa ste% |
| 'gro ba 'dren pa'i thar lam can/ | 'gro ba 'dren pa thar lam can/ | 'gro ba 'dren pa'i thar lam can% |
| bdag la thar pa'i lam ston zhu/ | bdag la thar pa lam ston zhus/ | bdag la thar pa'i lam ston zhu% |
| ces zhus/ ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pa bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa% |
| yid kyi khye'u chung thugs rje can/ | yid gyi khye'u chung thugs rje can/ | yid gyi khye'u chung thugs rje can% |
| thabs kyi sprul pa'i rdzu 'phrul ldan/ | thabs kyi sprul pa rdzu 'phrul ldan/ | thabs kyi sprul pa rdzu 'phrul can% |
| 'gro ba 'dren pa thar pa'i bon/ | 'gro ba 'dren pa thar pa bon/ | 'gro ba 'dre ba thar pa'i bon% |
| g.yung drung mi 'gyur snying po long/ | g.yung drung mi 'gyur snying po [f.30b] 'ding/ | g.yung drung mi 'gyur snying po long% |
| theg pa chen po'i bon la spyod/ | theg pa chen po bon la spyod/ | theg pa chen po'i bon la spyod% |
| lung 'dren rgyud 'dren grol bar gyis/ | lo 'dren rgyun 'dren grol ba gyis/ | lung 'dren rgyud 'dren grol bar gyis% |
| [61] rgyal po hos kyis 'gro don spyod/ | rgyal po hos kyi 'gro don spyod/ | rgyal po hos kyis 'gro don spyod% |
| 'gu ling ma ti sgribs pa sbyangs/ | 'gul te mi ta bsgrib pa sbyong/ | 'gu [f.27a] ling mi ti sgrib pa sbyong% |
| de nas thog med mngon sangs rgyas/ | de nas thog med mngon sangs rgyas/ | de nas thog med mngon sangs rgyas% |
| ces gsung lung bstan rab du thob/ | ces gsung lung bstan rab du thob/ | ces gsung lung bstan rab du thob% |
| re rjes nub phyogs gling nas nas/ | de rje nub phyogs gling nas ni/ | de nas nub phyog gling nas ni% |
| rgyal po 'khor tshogs mngon du byon/ | rgyal po 'khor tshogs 'dun du byon/ | rgyal po 'khor tshogs mdun du byon% |

| lha rta dkar po ston pa la phul/ | lha rta dkar po ston pa la phul/ | lha ta dkar po ston pa la phul% |
|---|---|---|
| lha phyag 'tshal nas zhus pa'i mdo// | lha phyag 'tshal nas zhus pa mdo'/ | lha phyag 'tshal nas zhus pa'i mdo'% |
| e ma ston pa lha mis gtso// | e ma ston pa lha'i gtso/ | e ma ston pa lha mi'i gtso/ |
| bdag ni rgyal po hos kyis rigs/ | bdag ni rgyal po hos kyi rigs/ | bdag ni rgyal po hos kyi rigs% |
| dang ba yid ring bya ba lags/ | dang ba yid ring bya ba la/ | dang ba yid ring bya ba yin% |
| yul hos mo gling drug dag nas 'ong// | yul hos mo gling drug dang ba la 'od/ | yul hos mo gling drug nas 'ongs% |
| rgyu las dang pas sems bskyed de/ | rgyud las dad pa sems bskyed nas/ | rgyu las dad pas sems skyed de% |
| lam du tshogs bsags sgrib sbyangs phyir/ | lam du tshog bsag bsgrib sbyang phyir/ | lam du tshog bsag sgrib sbyang phyir% |
| bston pa gshen rab gdan 'dren 'ongs/ | ston pa gshen rab gdan 'dren 'ong/ | ston pa gshen rab bdan 'dren 'ong% |
| yun kyis mchod gnas dag dus zhus/ | yun gyi mchog nas ngag (dag) tu zhus/ | yun gyi mchod gnas dag du zhu% |
| ston pas thugs rje 'dzin par zhu/ | | ston pas thugs rje 'dzin par zhu% |
| ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa// | ces zhus ston pa bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa% |
| kye ma rgyal po dad pa can// | kye ma rgyal po dad pa can/ | kye ma rgyal po dad pa can% |
| bdag ni bar po so brgyad du/ | bdag ni bar po so brgyad du/ | bdag ni bar po so brgyad du% |
| bkra shis zhal sros byed pa'i/ | bkra shis zhal srong byed pa yi/ | bkra shis zhal sros byed pa'i/ |
| nga dang 'dra ba'i slob [62] bu cig/ | nga dang 'dra ba slong bu cig/ | nga dang 'dra ba'i slob bu 1% |
| rgyal po'i mchod nas lo gsum gyis/ | rgyal po mchog gnas lo gsum gyi/ | rgyal po'i mchod gnas lo 3 gyis/ |
| ces gsungs/ yid kyis khye'u chung/ | ces gsung yid gyi [f.31a] khye'u chung/ | ces gsung yid gyi khye'u chung% |
| tshu bzang smra mkhan khye'u chung khyod/ | tshul bzang smra mkhas khye chung khyod/ | tshul bzang smra mkhas khye'u chung khyod% |
| g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba ste/ | g.yung drung gtsug gshen bya ba ste/ | g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba ste/ |
| hos rgyal dang ba yid rang gyis/ | hos rgyal po dang ba yid ring kyi/ | hos rgyal dang [f.27b] pa yid ring kyis% |
| lo gsum tshogs bsags mchod gnas gyis/ | lo gsum tshogs bsags mchod gnas kyi/ | lo 3 tshog bsag mchod gnas gyis% |
| ces gsung/ khye'u chung zhal nas ni/ | ces gsung khye'u chung zhal nas ni/ | ces gsung khye'u chung zhal nas ni% |
| slob dpon lha'i bka' byung na/ | slob dpon lha'i bka' byung nas/ | slob dpon lha'i bka' byung na% |

| | | |
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| dmyal bar gtong yang cha sems med/ | dmyal ba gto' yang che ba med/ | dmyal bar gtong yang cha bes myed% |
| bden pa'i bka' rtsal ston pa'i bka'/ | bden pa bka' rtsal ston pa bka'/ | bden pa'i bka' rtsal ston pa'i bka'% |
| bdud dang srin pos mi gcogs nas/ | bdud dang srin po ma gcig na/ | bdud dang srin pos mi gcog na% |
| rang gis srog la bab gyur kyang/ | ring (rang) gi srog la bab gyur kyang/ | rang gi srog la bab 'gyur kyang% |
| slob dpon bka' bcag mi srid pas/ | slob dpon bka' bcag mi srid pa/ | slob dpon bka' bcag mi srid pas/ |
| bdag ni ston pa'i gsung ltar bgyi/ | bdag ni ston pa gsungs ltar bgyi/ | bdag ni ston pa'i gsung ltar bkyid% |
| ces gsung// 'brug rta ston pa la 'bul/ | ces smras 'brug rta ston pa la phul/ | ces gsung 'brug rta ston pa la phul% |
| shing rta 'khor lo chibs su bcib// | shing rta 'khor lo chibs su bcing (bcib)/ | shing rta 'khor lo chibs su bcibs% |
| khye'u chung hos mo gling la gshegs/ | khye'u chung hos mo gling la gshegs/ | khye'u chung hos mo gling la gsheg% |
| chu bo gyim shang bya ltar rgal/ | chu bo gyim shing (shang?) bya lta dga'/ | chu'o gyim shang bya ltar rgal% |
| yul ni hos mo gling drug byon/ | yul ni hos mo gling drug byon/ | yul ni hos mo gling drug byon% |
| mkhar ni 'bar ba rtse rgu nas/ | mkhar ni bar po rtsa dgu na/ | mkhar ni 'bar ba rtse rgu nas% |
| rgyal po'i 'khor kyis [63] bsu ba byas/ | rgyal po 'khor ye bsu ba bya/ | rgyal po 'khor gyi bsu ba byas% |
| tshogs bsags bsnyen bkur rga ston byas/ | tshogs bsags bsnyen bkur rga ston byas/ | tshog bsag bsnyen bkur rga ston byas% |
| de nas g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba des/ | | de nas g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba des% |
| ka 'da shel kyis brag phugs du/ | | ka dha shel gyi brag phug du% |
| lo gsum hos gyis bla mchod byas/ | | lo 3 hos kyis bla mchod byas% |
| hos 'khor khrims dmag song ba'i tshe/ | hos 'khor khri dmag song ba'i tshe/ | hos 'khor khrim dmag song ba'i tshe% |
| btsun mo 'gu ming ma ti mas/ | btsun mo 'gu ling ma ti mos/ | btsun mo 'gu ling ma ti mas% |
| slob dpon cig bu dro la drang/ | slob dpon cig bu drod la drongs/ | slob dpon 1 bu dro la drang% |
| dro gsol bsngo ba byas pa ni/ | dro gsal bsngo ba byas pa ni/ | dro gsol bsngo ba byas [f.28a] pa ni% |
| bdag g.yung drung gtsugs gshen rgyal ba nges// | bdag g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba yis/ | bdag g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba'i/ |

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|---|---|---|
| dpang po med par gro mi gsol/ | | |
| de ring dpang med tro gsol ba'i/ | | dpang po med par dro gsol ba'i% |
| dbang po drang srong ne tsos kyis/ | dpang po [f.31b] drang srong ne tso kyi/ | dpang po drang srong ne tsos gyis% |
| 'dod chags dug gis ru ma yin/ | 'dod chags dun gis rus ma yin/ | 'dod chag dug gi ru ma yin% |
| 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal skyed shing ste/ | 'khor ba bsdug bsngal skyes shing ste/ | 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal bskyed shing ste% |
| sgyu ma'i lus kyi chags pa spang/ | sgyu ma lus la chag pa spyod/ | sgyu ma'i lus la chags pas spong/ |
| ces brjod slob dpon bron nas song/ | ces brjod slob dpon bros nas song/ | ces brjod slob dpon bros nas song% |
| btsun mos rang gis skra bal nas/ | btsun mo rang gi skra bal nas/ | btsun mos rang gi skra bal nas% |
| rgyal po la ni 'phra ma smras/ | rgyal po la ni 'phra ma sma sa/ | rgyal po la ni 'phra ma smras% |
| khyod kyis bla mchod tsod yod de/ | khyod kyi bla mchod tshod yod de/ | khyod kyi bla mchod tshod yod de% |
| dro drangs dus la nga la 'jus/ | dro drang dus nang la nga la 'dzus/ | drong drang dus na nga la 'jus% |
| skyigs nas kho bdag bros so zer/ | skrag nas kho bdag bros so zer/ | skying nas kho bdag bros so zer% |
| rgyal pos slob dpon bzhed pa nas/ | rgyal po slob dpon bzheng pa yin/ | rgyal pos slob dpon bzhed pa la% |
| 'gu ling [64] ma ti 'bul dgongs tshe/ | 'gu ling ma ti 'bul dgongs tshe/ | 'gu ling ma ti 'bul dgong tshe% |
| drang srong ne tses smras pa ni/ | drongs srongs ne tso smras pa ni/ | drang srong ne tsos smras pa ni% |
| he he dang ba yid ring kye/ | he he dang ba ying rings kyi/ | he he dang ba yid ring kye% |
| hos khang nang du hos ru can/ | hos khas nang du hos ru na/ | hos khang nang na hos ru can% |
| btsun mos dro ni drang dus su/ | btsun mo dro ni drang pa ru/ | btsun mos dro ni drang dus su% |
| nga la 'bras can byin nas ni/ | nga la 'bras mchod byed nas ni/ | nga la 'bras chan byin nas ni% |
| bdag g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba ni/ | bdag gtsug gshen rgyal ba ni/ | bdag g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ni% |
| dpang po med par dro gsol ba ni/ | dpang po med pa dro gsol ba/ | dpang po med par dro gsol ba'i% |
| dpang po drang srong ne ne tsos gyis zer na/ | dpang po drang srong ni tsos kyi/ | dpang po drang srong ne tsos gyis% |
| cig pur gshegs kyi thal/ | zer na cig pu shal kyi thal/ | zer nes cig bu shad kyi thal% |
| btsun mo cig pur skra bal cing/ | btsun mo cig pu skra dbal cig/ | btsun mos cig pur skra bal cing% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| gos ni rang gis ben mos bkral/ | gos ni rang gis se mo 'dral/ | gos ni rang gi sen mos bkral% |
| ma nyes dpang po ne tso yod/ | ma nyes dpang po ni (ne) tso yod/ | ma nyes dpang [f.28b] po ne tso yod/ |
| rgyal po btsun mo rdzun la bden pa med/ | rgyal po rdzun la bden pa med/ | rgyal po rdzun la bden pa med% |
| drang po 'jig rten kun du bden/ | drang [f.32a] po 'jig rten kun du bde/ | drang po 'jig rten kun na bden% |
| g.yo sgyu gya gyus mdza' bshes bslu/ | g.yo sgyur gya gyus mdza' bshes slus/ | g.yo sgyu gya gyus mdza' bshes phung% |
| ces zer ne tso 'phur nas song// | ces nes (ne) tso 'phur nas song/ | ces zer ne tso 'phur nas song% |
| de rgyal po slob dpon gtsug rum 'bar 'tshal gshegs// | der rgyal po slob dpon bde' ru song/ | der rgyal pos slob dpon bda' ru song% |
| | slob dpon ri gtsug ru 'bar ba tsha la shes/ | slob dpon gtsug rum 'bar 'tshal gsheg% |
| lam du gser mgar zhig dro bslang tshe/ | lam du gser 'gar la dro srang (slang) tshe/ | lam du gser mgar la dro slang tshe/ |
| gser sbram rgan mos brkus de bskungs/ | gser sgro 'gar mo rkus te bskungs/ | gser sbrang rgan mos brkus te bskung% |
| da ci dro gsol btsun pas khyer ro zhes/ | da ci dro gsol btsun pa khyod de zhes/ | da ci dro gsol btsun bas khyer ro zhes% |
| slob dpon dag la klong btag ste/ | slob dpon dag la klong btab te/ | slob dpon dag la klang btab ste% |
| mgar ba mgar dri phyung nas blang/ | 'gar ba 'gar gri phyung nas blang?/ | 'gar bas 'gar dri phyung nas bdas/ |
| [65] mgar ba'i dmig la ho ru drud/ | 'ga' ba'i mig la dro (ho) ru drug (drud)/ | 'gar ba'i mig la hos rus drud% |
| mgar bas mig gis mngon shes grub/ | 'gar ba mig gis mngon shes drug/ | 'gar bas mig gi mngon shes grub% |
| mgar mos gser sbram brkus pa mthong/ | 'gar mo gser spram rkung pa mthong/ | 'gar mos gser sbram bskung pa mthong% |
| hos rus mgar dri la rug byas/ | hos ru 'gar gri lag du byas/ | hos rus 'gar gri la tug tug byas% |
| nga ni gtsug gshen rgyal ba yin/ | ngas ni gtsug gshen rgyal ba yin/ | nga ni gtsug gshen rgyal ba yin% |
| ngas btsun mo 'gu ling ma ti la/ | ngas btsun mo 'gu ling ma ti la/ | ngas btsun mo 'gu ling ma ti la% |
| mi gtsangs par yang ma spyad nas/ | mi gtsang pa yang ma spyod na/ | mi tshang par yang ma spyad na% |
| mgar ba khyod kyi gser sbram la/ | 'gar ba khyod gyi gser skram la/ | 'gar ba khyod gyi gser sram la% |
| ma byin par yang ma blang nas/ | ma byin pa yang ngas ma blang na/ | ma byin par yang ma blang na% |
| mgar dri gye bo gser du shog// // | 'gar gri gye mo gser du shog/ | 'gar dri gyi bo gser du shog% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ces brjod mgar dri gser du gyur// | ces [f.32b] brjod 'gar gi (gri) gser du gyur/ | ces brjod bgar dri gser du gyur% |
| mgar bas phyi phyag 'tshal nas log/ | 'gar ba phyi phyag 'tshal nas ldog/ | 'gar bas phyi phyag [f.29a] 'tshal nas log% |
| 'phrul mgar gung chu khyod nyid ni/ | 'phrul 'gar gur chung khyod nyid ni/ | 'phrul 'gar gung cung khyod nyid ni% |
| rgyal po hos ni nga bda' dang 'phrad pa nas/ | rgyal po ho bda' dang 'phrad pa na/ | rgyal po hos ni nga bda' dang 'phrad pa na% |
| slob dpon gtsug gshen rgyal ba ni/ | slob dpon gtsug gshen rgyal ba ni/ | slob dpon gtsug gshen rgyal ba ni% |
| ri gtsug rum 'bar ba'i nag tshal du/ | rin chen gtsug rum 'bar ba nag tshal du/ | ri gtsug rum 'bar ba'i nag tshal du% |
| bya khra gzan la 'dzums bzhin ni thal/ | bya khrag gzan lta 'dzam bzhin thal/ | bya khra gzan la 'dzum 4n thal% |
| gyim sham chu la bya ltar lding nas thal/ | gyim shang chu la bya lta lding na thal/ | gyim shang chu la bya ltar lding nas thal% |
| thal mo zhes ci 'phrin smras so gsung/ | | |
| ces gyis gsang nas de byas pas/ | ces kyi gsungs nas des byas pa/ | ces kyis gsung nas de byas pas% |
| chu bo gyim shang 'gram nas ni | chu bo gyim shang 'gro nas ni/ | chu'o gyim shang 'gram nas ni% |
| [66] rgyal po 'khor tshoms phyir la log/ | rgyal po 'khor 'tsham phyi la ldog/ | rgyal po 'khor tsom phyir la log% |
| btsun mos klong btag nyes pa'i/ | btsun mo klong btab nyes pa yin/ | btsun mos klang btab nyes pa'i% |
| 'gu ling mdze'i ma ti klu/ | 'gur ling ma ti klung mdzes zin/ | 'gu ling ma ti klu mdzes zin% |
| zin de la gtsug gshen snying po thugs rje skyes/ | de la gtsug gshen rgyal ba snying rje skye/ | de la gtsug gshen thugs rje skyes% |
| drang srong ne tso'i rnams 'phrul de/ | drang srong ne tso rnams 'phrul te/ | drang srong ne tso'i rnams 'phrul ste% |
| mo ma kun shes thang po btangs/ | mo ma kun shes thang po btang/ | mo ma kun shes thang po btang% |
| btsun mo 'gu ling mdzes zin pas/ | btsun mo 'gu ling mdzes zin pa/ | btsun mo 'gu ling mdzes zin pa% |
| g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba la/ | g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba la/ | g.yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba la% |
| klong btab nyes pas klu'i zin/ | klung btab nyes pa klu'i zin/ | klang btab nyes pas klu'i zin% |
| mdze nad rab tu mi bzad pa/ | mdzes nad rab tu mi zad pa/ | mdze' nad rab du mi bzad pa% |
| de la phan cing bsod (gso?) pa'i thabs/ | de la phan zheng [f.33a] bsal (gsol?) bas thobs/ | de la phan cing bsod pa'i thab% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ston pa gshen rab gdan drangs nas/ | | ston pa gshen rab gdan drang nas% |
| tshogs bsags sgrib pa sbyangs nas phan zer// | tshogs bsags sgrib pa sbyangs nas phan no zer/ | tshog bsag sgrib pa sbyang nas phan no zer% |
| der ston pa 'khor bcas gdan drang nas/ | der ston pa 'khor bcas gdan drang btang/ | der ston pa 'khor tshog gdan drang te% |
| ston pas 'gu ling ma ti la/ | ston pa 'gu ling ma ti la/ | [f.29b] ston pas 'gu ling ma ti la% |
| khyod kyis gtsug gshen rgyal ba ni/ | khyod kyi gtsug gshen rgyal ba ni/ | khyod gyi gtsug gshen rgyal ba ni% |
| spyan drangs tshogs bsags lha phyag 'tshal lo/ | spyan drangs tshogs bsog lha phyag 'tshal/ | spyan drang tshog bsag lha phyag 'tshal% |
| spyan sngar nyes pa bshags nas byang/ | spyan sngar nyes pa bshag nas byang/ | spyan … nyes pa bshag na byang% |
| de lan klu'i gtong mi 'gyur ces gsungs/ | de min klu'i btang mi 'gyur/ | de min klu'i btang mi 'gyur% |
| kun shes thang po yin/ | ces gsungs kun shes thang po yis/ | ces gsung kun shes thang po'i% |
| gtsug gshen rgyal ba spyan drangs te/ | gtsug gshen rgyal ba spyan drang ste/ | gtsug gshen rgyal ba spyan drang ste% |
| nyes [67] pa bshags byang byas shin du/ | nyes pa bshag sbyong byas shin du/ | nyes pa bshag sbyang byas shin du% |
| lha mo sum brgya phyag 'tshal te/ | lha mo sum brgya la phyag 'tshal te/ | lha mo sum brgya la phyag 'tshal te% |
| tshogs bsags las ngan mdze nad sos/ | tshogs bsag las ngan mdzes nad sos/ | tshog bsag las ngan mdze nad sos% |
| der btsun mo rin chen gcal bkram phul/ | der btsun mo rin chen gcal bkram phul/ | der btsun mos rin chen gcal bkram phul% |
| hos rgyal dang pa dga' dgu nas/ | hos rgyal po dad pa dga' dgu nas/ | hos rgyal dang bas dga' mgu' nas% |
| bu mo hos za rgyal med ma/ | bu mo hos za rgyal med ma/ | bu mo hos za rgyal med ma% |
| rin chen rgyan kyis btab nas ni// | rin chen rgyal gyi gtang nas ni/ | rin chen rgyan gyi btab nas ni |
| ston pa gshen rab khab tu phul// | ston pa gshen rab khab tu phul/ | ston pa gshen rab khab du phul% |
| bram ze blo gsal mtshan bltas nas/ | bram zer blo gsal mtshan ldams(ltas?) te/ | bram ze blo gsal mtshan bltas na% |
| mtshan bzang bkra shis legs so brjod/ | mtshan bzang bkra shis legs so brjod/ | mtshan bzang bkra shis leg so brjod% |
| khri smon rgyal bzhad dag tu byon/ | khri smon rgyal bzhad dag tu byon/ | khri smon rgyal bzhad dag du byon% |
| rga ston lha gsol che ru byas/ | [f.33b] rga ston lha gsol che ru bya/ | rga ston lha gsol che ru byas% |
| sras ni gto bu 'bum sangs dang/ | sras ni gto bu 'bum sangs dang/ | sras ni gto bu 'bum sangs dang% |

| spyad bu de ni khri shes 'khrungs/ | dpyad bu khri shes 'khrungs/ | spyad bu de ni khri shes 'khrung/ |
| --- | --- | --- |
| bu mo gshen za ne'u chen 'khrungs/ | bu mo gshen za ne'u chen 'khrungs/ | bu mo gshen za ne'u chung 'khrungs |
| de nas yid kyi khye'u chung gis/ | de nas yid kyi khye'u chung gis/ | de nas yid gyi khye'u chung gi% |
| 'brug rta sngon po chibs su bcib/ | 'brug rta sngon po chibs su bcings/ | 'brug rta sngon po chibs su bcib% |
| myur mgyog rdzu 'phrul lcag gis brabs/ | myur mgyog rdzu 'phrul lcag gis bral/ | myur mgyog rdzu 'phrul lcag kyi brab% |
| klog 'gyu skad cig ci bzhin bar/ | glog 'gyur skad cig ci bzhin pa/ | glog [f.30a] 'gyu skad 1 ci bzhin par% |
| gsas chen ru bzhi gdan yang drangs/ | gsas chen ru bzhin gdan yang drang/ | gsas chen ru gdan yang drang% |
| shar nas gar gsas btsan po byon/ | shar nas gar gsas btsan po byon/ | shar nas kar gsas btsan po byung% |
| [68] byang na rgod gsas kham pa byon/ | byang nas rgod gsas kham pa byon/ | byang nas rgod gsas khams pa byon% |
| nub nas gsas rje rmang po byon/ | nub na gsas rje rmang po byon/ | nub nas gsas rje rmang po byon% |
| lho nas gnam gsas khyung rum byon/ | lho ni gnams gsas khyung rum byon/ | lho nas gnam gsas khyung rum byon% |
| bar po so brgyad phyogs bzhi ru/ | bar po so brgyad phyog bzhi ru/ | bar po so brgyad phyog 4 ru% |
| bka' rtags rnga gshang dung slang (gling?) bzhi/ | bka' rtag rnga bshang dung slad (gling?) bzhin (bzhi) / | bka' rtag rnga gshang dung slang bzhin% |
| rang bzhin mkha' nas rnams bab byung/ | rang bzhin mkha' nas gnam bab byung/ | rang bzhin mkha' nas gnam bab byung% |
| sa gdug bla res rgyal mtshan bzhi/ | 'phan gdug bla re rgyal mtshan bzhin/ | pad gdug bla ri rgyal mtshan 4% |
| 'khor lo dpal bye'u dung dang nya/ | 'khor lo dpal bye'u dung dang mnyam/ | 'khor lo dpal bye'u dung dang nya% |
| pad ma bum pa rgyal mtshan gdug/ | padma bum pa rgyal mtshan gdugs/ | pad ma bum pa rgyal mtshan gdug% |
| rin chen sna bdun gter dang brgyad/ | rgyal srid rin chen sna bdun gter dang brgyad/ | rin chen sna bdun gter dang brgyad% |
| me tog 'dze dgu char du bab/ | me tog [f.34a] mdzes dgu chu ru bab/ | me tog mdzes dgu char du bab% |
| sgo bzhi mdzod lnga klog bshad mdzad/ | sgo bzhi mdzod lnga klong bshad mdzad/ | sgo 4 mdzod lnga klog bshad mdzad% |
| de nas gsas chen ru bzhi yis// | de nas gsas chen rus bzhi yis/ | de nas gsas chen ru 4'i% |
| gar dha (rta) 'phyo ba dung gis mdog/ | gar rtags (rta) phyogs ba dung gis mdog/ | kar rta 'phyo ba dung gi mdog% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| rgod rta lding ba gser lo dang/ | rgod rtags (rta) ldeng lo gser lo dang/ | rgod rta ldir ba gser lo dang% |
| gsas rta bang chen mtshal bu dang/ | gsas chen dbang chen mtshal bu dang/ | gsas rta bang chen mtshal bu dang% |
| gnam rta gyi ling 'gros po che/ | gnam rta kyi ling 'gro po che/ | gnam rta gyi ling 'gros po che% |
| ston pa gshen rab bcib par phul/ | ston pa gshen rab bcib pa phul/ | ston pa gshen rab bcib par 'bul% |
| de tshe ston pa'i zhal nas ni/ | de tshe ston pa zhal nas ni/ | de tshe ston pa gshen rab zhal nas ni% |
| bon ni sgo bzhi mdzod dang lnga/ | bon ni sgo bzhi mdzod dang ldan (lnga)/ | bon ni sgo 4 mdzod dang lnga% |
| chab dkar sngags rgyud phyi nang dang/ | chab kar sngag rgyu phyi nang dang/ | chab dkar sngag rgyud phyi nang dang% |
| chab nag srid rgyud che chung dang/ | chab na (nag) srid rgyud cher chung dang/ | chab nag srid rgyud che chung dang% |
| dpon gsas lung rgyud che chung dang/ | dpon gsas lung rgyu che chung dang/ | |
| [69] 'phan yul 'bum sde rgyas bsdus dang/ | 'phan yum 'bum sde rgyas bsdus dang/ | 'phan yul [f.30b] 'bum sde rgyas bsdus dang% |
| gtsang ma mtho thogs zas don mdzod/ | gtsang ma mthong thob zab don mdzod/ | gtsang ma mtho do zab don mdzod% |
| gzungs so dag la 'dzin shes gyis/ | gzungs so dag la 'dzin shes kyi/ | gzung so dag la 'dzin shes gyi% |
| bdag sgo dag la ming ying thog/ | bdag sgo dag la mi yang thob/ | bdag sgo dag la ming yang thog% |
| go lam dag la don snyed mdzod/ | go la dag la don rnyed mdzod/ | go lam dag la don rnyed mdzod% |
| ces brjod/ sgo bzhi mdzod lnga gtan la phabs/ | ces brjod sgo bzhi mdzo lnga gtan la phab/ | ces brjod sgo 4 mdzod lnga gtan la phab% |
| de nas gung la brag seng ge brgya bsnol su/ | de nas gung la brag seng ge rgyal snol du/ | de nas gung la brag sing ge brgyad bsnol du% |
| bdud ma tang ru rings btul// | bdud ma bdud rim ma ring btul/ | bdud ma trang ru ring btul% |
| mtho ris khri smon rgyal bzhad rtser/ | tho ras khri [f.34b] smon rgyal bzhed rtse | mtho ras khri smon rgyal bzhad rtser |
| rgyal po hos kyis 'gro don rdzogs so/ | rgyal po hos kyi 'gro don rdzogs/ | rgyal po hos kyis 'gro don rdzog% |
| de nas mgon btsun phya'i phul du/ | de nas mgon gsum phyag yul du/ | de nas mgon sum phya yul du% |
| snang ldan g.yu rtse bya ba ru/ | snang ldan g.yu rtseg bya ba ru/ | snang ldan g.yu rtse bya ba ru% |
| ye shes lha'i ston pa la/ | ye gshen lha'i ston pa la/ | ye shes lha'i ston pa la% |
| 'gro ba 'dul ba'i bon rnams zhus/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba'i bon rnams zhus/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba'i bon lung zhu% |
| de nas shar lho nub byang phyogs bzhi ru/ | de nas shar lho nub byang phyog bzhi ru/ | de nas shar lho nub byang phyog 4 ru% |

| ston pas 'brug rta sngon po bcibs/ | ston pa 'brug rta sngon po bcib/ | ston pas 'brug rta sngon po phul% |
|---|---|---|
| lha rta ke ru snyan kar la/ | lha rta ke ru snyan dkar la/ | lha rta ge ru bsnyan dkar la% |
| gto sgro spyad sgro rtsis sgro sman sgro dang/ | gto' sgro dpyad sgro rtsi sgro sman sgro dang/ | gto sgro dpyad sgro rtsis sgro sman sgro dang% |
| lho sgro gshen sgro zung gsum ma drug bkal/ | lha sgro gshen sgro zung gsum ma drug dang/ | lha sgro gshen sgro zung 3 ya drug bkal% |
| rnga gshang dung slang bzhi dang chas/ | rnga gshang dung slang bzhi dang chas/ | rnga gshang dung slang 4 dang chas% |
| gsas chen bzhi ru 'dren ston byas/ | gsas chen bzhi ru 'dren ston byed/ | gsas chen 4 ru 'dren ston byas% |
| yid kyis khye'u chung gis [70] sna 'dren byas/ | yid kyi khye'u chung sna 'dren byed/ | yid gyi khye'u chung sna 'dren byas% |
| sras bu zung gsum ya drug dang/ | sras bu zad gsum ya drug dang/ | sras bu zung 3 ya drug dang% |
| mo ma kun shes thang po dang/ | mo ba kun shes thang po dang/ | mo ma kun shes thang po dang% |
| bon gyis 'khor lo phyogs bzhir bskor/ | bon gyi 'khor lo phyog bzhi skor/ | bon gyi 'khor lo phyog 4r [f.31a] bskor% |
| gto spyad 'bum sde gtan la phabs/ | gto' dpyad 'bum sde gtan la phab/ | gto spyad 'bum sde gtan la phab% |
| de nas 'dzam bu gling bzhi ru/ | de nas 'dzam bu gling bzhi ru/ | de nas 'dzam bu gling 4 ru% |
| skad rigs mi cig sum brgya drug bcu las/ | skad rig mi mthun sum brgya drug bcu la/ | skad rig mi 1 sum brgya drug 10? la% |
| bon skad 'gyur mi cigs pa re re bzhags/ | bon la skad 'gyur mi gcig re re bzhag/ | bon skad 'gyur mi 1 re re bzhag% |
| slar yang 'ol mo gling du byon/ | slar yang 'ol mo [f.35a] gling du byon/ | slar yang 'ol mo gling du byon% |
| bar po so brgyad mkhar du thams cad kun 'dus/ | bar po so brgyad mkhar du thams cad kun 'dus so/ | bar po so brgyad mkhar du thams cad kun 'dus so% |
| g.yung drung lha'i bon/ mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las/ ston pa gshen rab mi bo dang/ rgyal po hos dang ba yid ring zhu don kyis mdo/ hos za rgyal med khab tu bzhes nas/ sras 'khrungs pa'i le'u ste dgu pa'o// // | g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo' 'dus pa rin po che rgyud las/ ston pa gshen rab mi bo dang/ rgyal po ho dang ba yid ring zhu don gyi mdo'/ hos za rgyal med khab tu bzhes nas/ sras 'khrung pa'i le'u ste dgu pa'o/ | g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las% ston pa gshen rab mi bo dang/ rgyal po hos dang ba yid ring gyi zhu don gyi mdo'/ hos za rgyal med khab tu bzhes nas/ sras 'khrung pa'i le'u ste dgu pa'o% |

| *mDo 'dus* (Chapter x) | | |
|---|---|---|
| [p.70] | [f.35a] | [f.31a] |
| de nas shes rab phul du byung ba'i/ | de nas shes rab phul du byung ba'i/ | de nas shes rab phul du byung ba'i/ |
| ston pa gshen rab mi bo dang/ | ston pa gshen rab mi bo dang/ | ston pa gshen rab mi po dang% |
| dpo rgyal 'bar sgron zhu don mdo/ | dpo' rgyal 'bar sgron zhus don mdo'/ | dpo rgyal 'bar sgron zhu don mdo% |
| sdig can mi rgu drangs pa'i le'u/ | sdig che ming dgu drang ba'i le'u 'o/ | sdig can mi dgu drang pa'i le'u% |
| ston pa gshen rab mi bo dang/ | ston pa gshen rab mi bo la/ | ston pa gshen rab mi po ni% |
| gnas mchog 'ol mo lung rings su/ | gnas mchog 'ol mo lung ring kyi/ | gnas mchog 'ol mo lung ring kyi% |
| me rtog tshal du bzhugs cing/ | me rtog tshal du bzhug cing dus/ | me tog tshal du bzhug cing du% |
| sras ni gto [71] bu 'bum sangs dang/ | sras ni gto bu 'bum sangs dang/ | sras ni gto bu 'bum sang dang/ |
| yab sras mjal cing bon bshad tshe/ | yab sras mjal cing bon bshad che/ | yab sras mjal cing bon bshad tshe/ |
| lho phyogs gling nas sgra snyan grags/ | lho phyog gling nas sgra snyan grag/ | lho phyog gling nas sgra bsnyan grag/ |
| de tshe rgyal po 'khor tshogs cig/ | de tshe rgyal po 'khor tshogs cig/ | de tshe rgyal po 'khor tshog 1/ |
| ston pa'i spyan sngar shar kyis phyin/ | ston pa spyan sngar shar gyi phyin/ | ston pa'i spyan ngar shar gyi phyin% |
| 'dod pa dgu 'gyur nor bu phul/ | 'dod pa dgu 'gyur nor bu phul/ | 'dod pa dgu 'gyur [f. 31b] nor bu phul% |
| lha phyag dgu 'tshal 'di skad zhus/ | lha phyag dgu 'tshal 'di [f.35b] skad zhus/ | lha phyag dgu 'tshal 'di skad zhus/ |
| 'gro ba'i dpal mgon gshen rab mchog/ | 'gro ba'i dpal mgon gshen rab mchog/ | 'gro ba'i dpal mgon gshen rab mchog% |
| 'jig rten sgron ma skyes bu'i phul/ | 'jig rten sgron ma skyes bu phul/ | 'jig rten sgron ma skyes bu'i phul% |
| rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i thugs// | rnam par thams cad mkhyen pa'i phul/ | rnams pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i thugs% |
| cir yang sa le sprul pa'i sku/ | ci yang sems la sprul pa sku/ | cir yang sa le sprul pa'i sku/ |
| zhal mthong zhus pa'i don ched ni/ | zhal mthong zhu ba don chad du/ | zhal mthong zhu pa'i don ched ni% |
| bdag ni rgyal po dpo'i rigs/ | bdag ni rgyal po dpo' yi rigs/ | bdag ni rgyal po dpo'i rig% |
| dos rgyal 'bar ba'i sgron ma can/ | dpo' rgyal 'bar ba sgron ma can/ | dpo rgyal 'bar ba'i sgron ma can% |
| yul ni khri tang 'byams pa'i gling/ | yul ni khri thang 'byams pa gling/ | yul ni khri dang 'byam pa'i gling% |

| dge ba sha stag spyod pa'i sa/ | dge ba sha ltag spyod pa yis/ | dge ba sha stag spyod pa'i sa% |
|---|---|---|
| de'i nub gling khrim bu chung/ | de'i nub gling khri bu chung/ | de'i nub gling khri bu chung% |
| rgyal po 'phra mo khri 'od dang/ | rgyal po phra mo khri 'od dang/ | rgyal po 'phra mo khri 'od dang% |
| btsun mo khri btsun gsal mo la/ | btsun mo khri btsun gsal mo la/ | btsun mo khri btsun gsal mo la/ |
| rgyal bu khri shang bya ba skyes/ | rgyal bu khri shang bya ba skye/ | rgyal bu khri shang bya bar skyes% |
|  | rgyal bu ma song nad kyi zin/ | rgyal bu mi sos nad gyi zin/ |
|  | mo ma snyed du snyed logs … bsnyag/ | mo ma sdig nga sdig lom bsnyag% |
|  | mo ma rdzun babs phra btsug pa/ | mo mas rdzun lab 'phra bcug nas% |
| rgyal bu khri shang glud du ni/ | rgyal bu khri shang gling du ni/ | rgyal bu khri shang glud du ni/ |
| bran phrug khri shes bsad dgos skad/ | phran phrun khri shes bsad rgod skad/ | bran phrug khri shes bsad rgos skad/ |
| spa gyim shang gong po (?) bon por bsnyags/ | spram gyi shang gang gang bon po snyag/ | spa gyim shang gong gong bon por bsnyag% |
| [72] ha 'da nag po bsad mi byas/ | ha dhan nag po bsad mi bya/ | ha 'dha nag pos bsad ma byas% |
| rgyal bu nad pas smras pa ni/ | rgyal bu nang pas smrad pa ni/ | rgyal bu nad pas smras pa ni% |
| pha ma ngan pas bdag la phan du re ba dang/ | pha ma ngan pa bdag la phan du ring ba dang/ | pha ma ngan pas bdag la phan du re ba dang% |
| mo bon rdzun mas za 'dod byas pa dang/ | mo bon rdzun mar zas 'dod byed pa dang/ | mo bon rdzun mas za 'dod byed pa dang/ |
| ha dha nag po shin tu glen pa dang/ | ha dhan nag po shin tu gleng pa dang/ | ha 'dha [f.32a] nag po shin tu glen pa dang% |
| bran phrug dag la rang dbang med pa yis/ | bran phrug la rang dbang med pa yin/ | bran phrug dag la rang dbang med pa'i/ |
| 'di lta bu las ngan spyad pa yi ri mug/ | 'di la [f.36a] ltas na las ngan bsad pa ye re mug/ | 'di lta'u las ngan spyad pa yi ri mug% |
| ma rig gti mug mun pa'i rgyu/ | ma rig gti mun mun pa rgyud/ | ma rig gti mug mun pa'i rgyus% |
| mo bon cig rdzun rnam smin gyis/ | ma bon cig rdzun rnam smin gyi/ | mo bon cig rdzun rnams smin gyis% |
| rgyal bu khri shang shi rgyu la/ | rgyal bu khri shang shi rgyud la/ | rgyal bu khri shang shi rgyu la% |
| sdig can mi dgu ro dgu byung/ | sdig can mi dgu ra dgu byung/ | sdig can mi dgu ro dgu byung% |

| | | |
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| dmag mi sum stong las dbang gyur/ | dmag mi sum stong las dbang gyur/ | dmag mi sum stong las dbang gyur% |
| e ma las ngan mun byas yi ri mug/ | e ma las ngan gnas ngan yi re mug/ | e ma las ngan mun gnas yi re mugs% |
| ces smras yi mug skyes ste ngus/ | ces smras pa yud mun skyed bus/ | ces smras yi mug skyes ste ngus% |
| bran phrug dag gis 'di skad do// // | phran phrug dag gis 'di skad du/ | bran phrug dag gis 'di skad du% |
| kye ma sems can skyes nas shi ba la/ | kye ma sems can skyed nas 'chi ba lag/ | kye ma sems can skyes nas shi ba la/ |
| ci ste me bon bden 'gyur nas/ | ci ste mo bon brjod de 'grub/ | ci ste mo bon bden gyur na% |
| rgyal bu'i glud du nga 'gro nas/ | rgyal bu glud du bdag 'gro nas/ | rgyal bu glud du nga 'gro nas% |
| rgyal bu mi shi sos pa na/ | rgyal ba mi shig sos pa na/ | rgyal bu mi shi gson pa na% |
| brag phrug sdug pa shi ba rung/ | bran phrug sdug pa shi ba rung/ | bran phrug sdug pa shi ba rung% |
| ces pa'i tshig kyang brjod de 'dug/ | ces pa tshog kyang brjod de 'dug/ | ces pa tshig gyang brjod nas 'dug% |
| de la rgyal bu dag gis pha ma yis/ | de la rgyal bu bdag gi pha ma yis/ | rgyal bu dag gis pha ma'is% |
| brag phrug sdug pa snying rje ste/ | bran phrug sdug pa snying re rje/ | bran phrug sdug pa snying rje ste% |
| rgyal bu shi nas rgyal rab chad/ | rgyal bu shi na rgyal rab chad/ | rgyal bu shi na rgyal rab chad% |
| [73] rgyal bu sos pa'i thabs yod nas/ | rgyal bu song pa thabs yod na/ | rgyal bu sos pa'i thab yod na% |
| brag phrug glud du gtong bas leg/ | bran phrug glud du gtong pa len/ | bran phrug glud du gtong pa leg% |
| ces smras bran phrug glud du btangs/ | ces smras bran phrug glud du [f.36b] btang/ | ces smras bran phrug glud du btang/ |
| brag phrug sha btson bzhin du bzungs/ | phran brun sha bcon bzhin du bzung/ | bran phrug sha btson bzhin du bzung/ |
| mog pa rkang pa g.yas la 'then/ | mos mas rkang pa g.yas la 'then/ | mo mas rkang pa g.yas la then% |
| bon pos lag pa g.yas pa then/ | bon po lag pa g.yas la 'then/ | bon pos [f.32b] lag pa g.yas la then% |
| ha 'da nag po snying phyung ste/ | | ha 'dha nag pos snying phyung ste% |
| sha rnams glud du phyogs bzhir gtor/ | sha rnam glud du phyogs bzhi gtor/ | sha rnams glud du phyog bzhir gtor% |
| mo bon khyim du phyin tsa rgyal bu shi nas 'dug/ | mo bon khyim du phyin tsam rgyal ba shi nas 'dug/ | mo bon khyim du phyin tsa rgyal bu shi nas 'dug% |
| mo bon skyeng ste lceb nas shi/ | mo bon skye te lce nas shi/ | mo bon skying ste lceb nas shi% |

| de rje bran phrug dag gis pha ma'i// | de rje bran phrug dag gi pha ma yin/ | de rjes bran phrug dag gi pha ma'is% |
|---|---|---|
| ha 'da nag po'i snying phyung bsad/ | ha dha nag po snying phyung bsad/ | ha 'dha nag po snying phyung bsad% |
| de nas bran phrug a ma des// | de nas bran phrug pha ma de/ | de nas bran phrug pha ma des% |
| rgyal po 'phra mo khri 'od kyis// | rgyal po phra mo khyed 'od kyi/ | rgyal po 'phra mo khri 'od kyi% |
| mkhar dang rtse mthon dag la zhugs/ | mkhar dang rtse mthong dag la bzhugs/ | mkhar dang rtse mthon dag la zhug% |
| der bran gyis rgyal sa bzung ba la/ | de bran yis rgyal sa bzung ba de/ | der bran yi rgyal sa bzung ba la/ |
| bdag rgyal po 'bar sgron 'phrag dog skyes/ | bdag rgyal po 'bar sgron 'phra dog skyes/ | bdag rgyal 'bar sgron 'phrag dog skyes% |
| 'khor gyi dmag mi sum stong bsdus/ | 'khor gyi dmag mi sum stong bsdus/ | 'khor kyi dmags mi sum stong bsdus/ |
| mkhar phags bran 'phrug pha ma bsad/ | mkhar pham? bran 'phrug pha ma bsad/ | mkhar phab bran phrug pha ma bsad% |
| sdig pa dmags mi spyi'i khur/ | sdig pa dmag mi spyi yi khyer/ | sdig pa dmag mi spyi'i khur% |
| de 'dra'i las ngan byung [74] byung ba 'di/ | de 'dra las ngan byung ba ni/ | de 'dra'i las ngan byung pa 'di% |
| ci yi rgyu dang ci'i rgyu rkyen/ | ci 'i rgyu dang ci'i rkyen/ | ci'i rgyu dang ci'i rkyen% |
| 'bras bu ngan pa ci lta bu 'byung/ | 'bras bu ngan pa ci ltar byung/ | 'bras bu ngan pa ci lta bu 'byung/ |
| drang na drangs thabs ci ltar lag/ | drang na drang thabs ci ltar lags/ | drang na drang thabs ci tar lag% |
| gshen rab ston pa nyid la zhu/ | gshen rab ston pa nyid la zhu/ | gshen rab ston pa nyid la zhu% |
| ces zhus ston pa nyid la zhu/ | | |
| ces zhus ston pas gsang lam/ | ces zhus ston pa lan gsung pa/ | ces zhus ston pas lan gsung pa% |
| rgyal po 'bar ba'i sgron ma can/ | rgyal po 'bar ba sgron ma can/ | rgyal po 'bar ba'i sgron ma can% |
| khyod ni zhu don thab la mkhas/ | khyod ni zhu don thabs la mkhas/ | khyod gyi zhu don thabs la mkhas% |
| 'gro don mdzad pa'i bsam pa can/ | 'gro don mdzad pa bsam pa [f.37a] can/ | 'gro don mdzad pa'i bsam pa can% |
| dge ldan sems la sdig mi 'gyur/ | dge ldan sems la sdig mi 'gyur/ | dge ldan sems la sdig mi [f.33a] 'gyur% |
| de la nam yang ngan song med/ | de la nam kyang ngan song med/ | de la nam yang ngan song med/ |
| ci ltar sdig cin mi dgu yang/ | ci ltar sdig can mi dgu 'di/ | ci tar sdig can mi dgu 'di/ |
| sngon dus las spyod ngan pa las/ | sngon du las spyod ngan pa las/ | sngon du las ngan spyod pa las% |

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| smon lam ma dag rgyud las byung/ | smon lam ma dag rgyud la byung/ | smon lam ma dag rgyud las byung% |
| rkyen ni sdig pa'i rnams smin tshogs/ | rkyen ni sdig pa rnam smin tshogs/ | rkyen ni sdig pa rnams smin 'tshog% |
| 'bras bu ngan pa smin pa ni/ | 'bras bu ngan pa smin pa ni/ | 'bras bu ngan par smin pa ni% |
| de la rgyal bu khri shang ni/ | de la rgyal bu khri shang ni/ | de la rgyal bu khri shang ni% |
| bsam pa bzang po'i gtan dag gis/ | bsam pa bzang po rkyen dag gis/ | bsam pa bzang pa'i rkyen dag kyis/ |
| sum bcu rtsa gsum lha ru skyes/ | sum bcu rtsa sum lha ru skyes/ | sum bcu rtsa 3 lha ru skyes/ |
| lha bu dri ma med par skyes/ | lha bu dri ma med par skye/ | lha bu dri ma med par skyes% |
| bran phrug khri shes bsam bzang ste/ | bran phrug rga ldan lha ru skye/ | bran phrug khri shes bsam bzang ste% |
| dga' ldan lhar [75] skyes/ | | rga ldan gnas su lhar skyes so% |
| khri shang ma ni bsam ba 'bring tsam ste/ | rgyal bu de'i pha ma gnyis/ | khri shang pha ni bsam ba 'bring tsam ste% |
| lceb pas chu bur can gyis dmyal bar skyes/ | dmyal ba'i chu'i pha ma skyes/ | lceb pas chu bur can gyi dmyal bar skyes% |
| khri shang ma ni bsam ngan ste/ | | khri shang ma ni bsam pa ngan ste% |
| lcags kyis sog les lus po gtub par skyes/ | | lcag kyi sog les lus po gtub bar skyes% |
| mo ma sding nga sding mi ni/ | mo ma sding nga sdi lo ni/ | mo ma sdig nga sdig lom ni/ |
| yang shi yang sos myal ba ru/ | yang shi yang sos dmyal ba ru/ | yang shi yang sos dmyal ba ru% |
| bud med lus la dred mong mgo can cig tu skyes// | bu med lus la dred mo mgo can gcig tu skye/ | mud med lus la dred mong mgo can 1 du skyes% |
| sbrul gyis mig za/ sdig pas sna nas za// | sbrul mig za sdig pa sna nas za/ | sbrul gyi myig za sdig pas sna nas za% |
| rtsangs pas lce la za/ sdom nag pos snying la za/ | rtsang pa lce za sdom nag snying la za/ | rtsang pas lce la za% sdom nag pos sna la za% |
| sbal pas lte ba za zhing/ me ma mur la 'bog/ | sbal pa lte ba za me ma mur la 'bog/ | sbal pas lte ba za zhing me ma mur la 'bog |
| de 'dra'i dmyal bar skyes/ | de 'dra bas dmyal ba skye/ | de 'dra ba'i dmyal bar skyes/ |
| bon pos za 'dod dbang gis mi shes shes byas rdzun du smras/ | bon po gyam shang gang gang ni/ | [f.33b] bon pos za 'dod dbang gi mi shes shes byas rdzun du smras% |

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| lceb pas dmyal ba thig nag gnas su skyes/ | dmyal ba thig nag can du skyes/ | lceb pas dmyal thig nag gnas su skyes% |
| de yang sbrul nag mgo gsum pa cig tu skyes/<br>mgo cig sog les gcod cing/<br>mgo cig tho bas brdung/<br>mgo cig sta re can kyis gsas/ | de dang sbrul nag mgo gsum po cig skyes so/ | de yang sbrul nag 'gho 3 pa 1 du skyes/<br>'go 1 sog les gcod cing mgo 1 tho bas rdung%<br>mgo cig sta re can gyi gse/ |
| mjug [76] ma chur btso/<br>rked pa me ru sreg/ | [f.37b] mjug ma chu btso rked pa me ru bsreg/ | mjug ma chur btso rked pa me ru sreg% |
| yang shi yang sos der skyes/ | yang shing yang sod de ltar skye/ | yang shi yang sos de ltar skyes% |
| gha ha dha nag po ni/<br>byol song mun nag gling chen du/<br>lus ni phag nag gcig tu skyes/<br>sdug bsngal ni lcags kyi phur bzhi gnan nas/ | | |
| lcags kyi sdig pa bran phrug dag gis pha ma ni/ | bran phrug dag gis pha ma ni/ | bran phrug dag gi pha ma ni% |
| bsha gtub byed ma'i dmyal bar skyes/ | … (bsha') gdub byed pa dmyal ba skye/ | bsha' gtub byed pa'i dmyal bar skyes% |
| mi lus ra lug mgo can la/ | mi lus ra lug mgo can lag/ | mi lus ra lug mgo can la% |
| srin po pho mos spu gri rnon po yis/ | srid po pho mo spungs gri rnon po yi/ | srin po pho mos spu dri rnon po'i/ |
| srog khung kha phyes snying phyung za bar skyes/ | srog kha kha phyes snying phyung za ba skye/ | srog khung kha phyes snying phyung za bar skyes% |
| rgyal po dmags mi stong dang chas// | rgyal po dmag mi stob dang chas/ | rgyal bo dmag mi stong dang chas/ |
| da lta shi nas lha ma yin/ dang 'thab rtsod chen po byed bar skyes/ | da lta shi na lha ma yin thab rtsod chen po byed pa skye/ | da lta shi nas lha ma yin/ 'thab rtsod chen po byed par skyes% |
| sdig sbyangs dge ba spyad nas/ | sdig spyod dge ba'i spyod pa na/ | sdig sbyang dge ba spyad pa na% |
| dga' ldan lha'i gnas su skyes/ | rga' ldan lha'i gnas su skyes/ | dga' ldan lha'i gnas su skyes/ |

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| drang na drangs thabs 'di lta ste/ | drang na drangs thabs 'di lta ste/ | drang na drang thab 'di lta te% |
| rgyal bu bran phrug pha ma dang/ | rgyal bu phran phrug pha ma dang/ | rgyal bu pha ma bran phrug dang% |
| mo bon ha 'da nag po dgu/ | mo bon ha dha nag po dang/ | mo bon ha dha nag po dgu% |
| rgyal po dmag mi sum stong rnams/ | rgyal po dang dmag mi sum stong rnams/ | rgyal po dang dmag mi sum stong rnams/ |
| sdig sgrib dus cig sbyangs par 'gyur/ | sdig sgrib dus cig sbyor ba 'gyur/ | sdig sgrib dus 1 'byang bar 'gyur% |
| ces gsungs/ rgyal po dga' ba [77] skyes/ | ces gsung rgyal po dga' ba skyes/ | ces gsung rgyal po dga' ba skyes/ |
| u du 'bar ba'i me tog phul/ | u du 'bar ra me tog phul/ | [f.34a] u du 'bar ba'i me tog phul/ |
| 'jig rten sgron ma gshen rab lag/ | 'jig rten sgron ma gshen rab lag/ | 'jig rten sgron ma gshen rab lag% |
| sngar byas sdig la 'gyod tshad 'gyi/ | sngar byas sdig pa 'gyod tshangs bgyis/ | sngar bgyis sdig la 'gyod tshang bgyi% |
| phyin chad dge ba gzhung bzhin srang/ | phyi 'chad dge ba'i gzhung bzhin spyod/ | phyin chad dge ba gzhung bzhin srong% |
| ci ltar bgyis na sgrib sbyangs zhus/ | ci ltar bgyis na sgrib byangs [f.38a] zhing/ | ci tar bgyis na sgrib sbyang zhu/ |
| ces zhus/ ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pa bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ |
| rgyal po 'bar sgron rdul shug can/ | rgyal po 'bar ba sgron ma rdul shug can/ | rgyal po 'bar sgron rtul shug can% |
| dge' spyod myur du brtsams nas 'grub// | dge' spyod myur du brtsam nas 'grub/ | dge' spyod myur du brtsam na 'grub/ |
| bsam brtan gzhu brdung shes rab mda' 'phangs nas/ | bsam gtan gzhung brdul shes rab mda' 'phang nas/ | bsam gtan gzhu brdung shes rab mda' 'phang na% |
| rnams shes yul brgyad nyon mongs dgra bsod rgos/ | rnam shes yul brgyad nyon mongs dgra bsad rgong/ | rnam shes yul brgyad nyon mongs dgra gsod dgos% |
| bder gshegs lha gshen srid pa la/ | bder gshegs lha gshen srid pa la/ | bder gshegs lha gshen srid pa la |
| mtshan byang phyag 'tshal nas myur du 'byong/ | mtshan phyag 'tshal na myur du byang/ | mtshan phyag 'tshal na myur du 'byang/ |
| 'gro la sbyin gtong rtul shug bskyed/ | 'gro la sbyin gtong rdul shug skye/ | 'gro la sbyin gtong rtul shug bskyed% |
| bdun du mi thog sgrib pa 'byong/ | yin (yun) du mi thog sgrib pa byang/ | yun du mi thog sgrib pa 'byang% |
| ces gsung/ rgyal pos yang zhus pa/ | ces gsungs rgyal po yang zhus pa/ | ces gsung rgyal pos yang zhus pa% |

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| lha mi'i ston pa sgron ma'i mchog/ | lha min ston pa sgron ma mchog/ | lha mi'i ston pa sgron ma'i mchog% |
| sa le gsal ba'i ye shes spyan/ | sa le gsal ba ye shes spyan/ | sa le gsal ba'i ye shes spyan% |
| snang srid bkra ba'i mkhyen rgya can/ | snang srid bkra ba mkhyen rgyal can/ | snang srid bkra ba'i mkhyen rgya can/ |
| bdag dang bdag 'dra'i sgrib sbyangs phyir/ | bdag dang bdag 'dra sgrib sbyang phyir/ | bdag dang bdag 'gra'i sgrib sbyong phyir/ |
| bdag gis gnas su 'byon par zhu/ | bdag gi gnas su byon par zhu/ | bdag gi gnas su byon par zhu% |
| [78] ces zhus/ ston pa gshen rab nyid// | ces zhus ston pa gshen rab nyid/ | ces zhus ston pa gshen rab nyid% |
| gser gyis chags shing phyag tu 'dzin// | gser gyi cha shing phyag tu 'dzin// | gser gyi chag shing phyag tu 'dzin/ |
| gser gyi shing rta'i khri la bzhugs/ | gser gyi shing rta khri la [f.38b] …/ | gser gyi shing rta'i 'khor khri la [f.34b] bzhugs% |
| g.yung drung sems dpa' stong dang lnga brgya dang/ | | g.yung drung sems stong dang lnga brgya dang/ |
| 'khor bcas khri thang 'byams pa'i gling/ | 'khor bcas khri tong 'byam pa gling/ | 'khor bcas khri dang 'byam pa'i gling/ |
| grong khyer lhun grub 'dus pa byon/ | grong khyer lhun grub 'dus pa'i byon/ | grong khyer lhun grub 'dus par byon/ |
| phyag dang rim 'gro bsu ba bgyis/ | phyag dang rim gro bsu ba bgyis/ | phyag dang rim 'gro bsu ba brgyis/ |
| mkhar ni shod pa gcegs pa ru/ | mkhar ni shang pa brtsegs pa ru/ | mkhar ni shod pa gtsegs pa ru% |
| sras bu rma lo g.yul lo yis/ | sras bu rma lo g.yu lo yis/ | gsas bu rma lo g.yu lo'i |
| nyi zla gnyis kyi gur yang phub/ | nyi zla nyid kyi gur yang phub/ | nyi zla ris kyis gur phub% |
| gsang ba yid kyis khye'u chung yis/ | gsung ba yid kyi khye 'u chung gi/ | gsang pa yid gyi khye'u chung gi/ |
| pad ma ris kyi gdan yang bting/ | padma rigs kyi bdan yang bting/ | pad ma ris kyis gdan yang bting/ |
| rgyal po 'bar ba'i sgron ma'i/ | rgyal po 'bar ba sgron ma can/ | rgyal po 'bar ba'i sgron ma'i% |
| gsol zas ro mchog brgya dang ldan/ | gsol bras ro mchog brgyad ldan drang/ | gsol zas ro mchog brgya ldan drang% |
| nor bu gzi 'bar phul/ | nor bu rin chen gzigs 'bar phul/ | nor bu rin chen gzi 'bar phul/ |
| kye ma ston pa thugs rje can/ | kye ma ston pa thugs rje can/ | kye ma ston pa thugs rje can% |
| rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i | rnam par thams cad mkhyen pa yi/ | rnams pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i% |

| gshen rab mi bo sgron ma'i mchog/ | gshen rab mo bo sgron ma mchog/ | gshen rab mi bo sgron ma'i mchog% |
|---|---|---|
| rgyal phran khri shang nad kyis zin/ | rgyal phran khri shang nad gyi zin/ | rgyal phran khri shang nad gyi zin/ |
| nad de cis kyang ma sos par/ | nad de bcos kyang ma sod pa/ | nad de cis kyang ma sos par% |
| pha ma mo bon bran phrug ha 'da dang/ | pha ma mo bon bran phrug ha 'dha dang/ | pha ma mo bon bran phrug ha dha dang% |
| dmag mi tshu ched sdig la gnas pa 'di/ | dmag mi tshun chad sdig la gnas pa 'di/ | dmag mi tshun chad sdig la gnas pa 'di% |
| ci'i rgyu dang ci'i rkyen/ | ci'i rgyu dang ci'i rkyen/ | ci'i rgyu dang ci'i rkyen% |
| ston pa'i sgron ma bdag la bshad du gsol/ | ston pa sgron ma bdag la shod/ | ston pa'i sgron mas bdag la shod/ |
| ces zhus/ ston [79] pas bka' brtsal pa/ | de la ston pa bka' brtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ |
| sngon tshe snga ma rgyal bu de/ | sngon tshe snga ma rgyal bu de/ | sngon tshe snga ma rgyal bu des% |
| tshe stod dpon bsad bcad byas/ | tshe stod dmag dpon thams cad [f.39a] byas/ | tshe stod dmag dpon bsad bcad byas/ |
| tshe smad gto rgyal ye mkhyen la/ | tshe smad gto' rgyal ye mkhyen lha/ | tshe [f.35a] smad gto rgyal ye mkhyen la% |
| srog gcod spang ba'i ston pa blangs/ | srog gcod spong pa sdom pa blang/ | srog gcod spang pa'i sdom pa blang/ |
| dge bcu tshad mar spyod pa yis/ | dge bcu tshad ma spyod pa yi/ | dge bcu tshad mar spyad pa'i |
| 'dir ni rgyal bur skyes pa'o/ | 'di ni rgyal bu skyes pa'o/ | 'dir ni rgyal bur skyes pa'o/ |
| tshe thung sngon gyi srog bcad rnams smin yin/ | tshe thang sngon gyi srog gcod rnam smin yin/ | tshe thung sngon gyi srog bcad rnams smin yin% |
| pha ma mo bon had 'da rnams/ | pha ma mo gtong ha dha rnams/ | pha ma mo bon ha dha rnams% |
| rgyal bus dge ba spyod pa la// | rgyal bu dge la spyod pa la/ | rgyal bu dge ba spyod pa la% |
| mo mas sdig spyod 'khor ba yin// | mo ma sdig spyod 'khor ba yin/ | ma mos sdig spyod 'khor ba yin% |
| rgyal po khyod ni snga ma 'dur gshen skyes/ | rgyal po khyod ni sngar la lha rnams? 'dul gshen rab skyes/ | rgyal po khyod ni snga mar 'dur gshen skyes/ |
| dmag mi rnams ni ltad mo ba/ | dmag mi tshogs rnam lha mo ba/ | dmag mi rnams ni ltad mo ba/ |
| bdag ni 'dur gsas yin zhes byas/ | bdag ni 'dur gsas yin zhes bya/ | bdag ni 'dur gsas yin zhes bya% |
| de rnams rnam smin yam du 'dir 'tshogs/ | de rnams rnam smin du 'tshogs nas/ | de rnams smin dus 'dir 'tshog/ |

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| de bas sgrib pa dus 'dir sbyangs/ | de bas bsgrib du 'dir ru sbyang/ | de bas sgrib pa dus 'dir 'byang/ |
| ces gsung/ rgyal po 'khor bcas gyis/ | ces gsung rgyal po 'khor bcas kyi/ | ces gsung rgyal po 'khor bcas kyis% |
| ston pa'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal te/ | ston pa zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo/ | ston pa'i zhab la phyag 'tshal de% |
| bder gshegs stong gis mchod pa bsham/ | bder gshegs stong gis mchod pa bsham/ | bder gshegs stong gi mchod pa bsham/ |
| snying po brjod cing bstod pa byas/ | snying po brjod cing sgom pa byas/ | snying po brjod cing bstod pa byas/ |
| 'khor ba dong sprug snying po brjod/ | ('khor ba rnam sgra snying brjod)/ [erased] | 'khor ba dong sprug snying po brjod% |
| ris drug glud kyis tshim par byas/ | rig drug glud gyi snying rje tshim pa byas/ | rig drug glud gyi tshim par byas% |
| bden [80] pa'i don yang bstan pa yin/ | bden pa don yod bstan pa'i/ | bden pa'i don yang bstan pa'i/ |
| ltas dang cho 'phrul chen po byung/ | ltas dang cho 'phrul mang po byung/ | ltas dang cho 'phrul chen po byung/ |
| rgyal po dmag mi sum stong bcas/ | rgyal po dmag mi sum stong bcas/ | rgyal po dmag mi sum stong bcas/ |
| mkha' la 'od bzhin mngon sangs rgyas/ | mkhas la 'od bzhin mngon sangs rgyas/ | mkha' la 'od bzhin mngon sangs rgyas% |
| 'jig rten 'khams ni bde la bkod/ | 'jig rten khams ni bde ba bkod/ | 'jig rten 'khams ni bde la bkod% |
| slad nas rgyal po 'bar sgron sras/ | slad ni rgyal po 'bar sgron sras/ | slad na rgyal po 'bar sgron sras% |
| dpo'u lag ngan bya ba dang/ | dpa bu las ngan byang ba dang/ | [f.35b] {rag pa lo} dpo bu lag ngan bya ba dang/ |
| dpo'u lag ngan bya ba dang [repeated]/ | | |
| dpo'u za thang mo shul du lus/ | [f.39b] dpo' za tho mo shul du lus/ | dpo za thang mo shul du lus% |
| de la mtshan ldan khye'u bzhi yis// | de la mtshan ldan khye'u bzhi yi/ | de la mtshan ldan khye'u chung 4'i% |
| gshen rab dag la slar zhus pas/ | gshen rab dag la slar zhus pa/ | gshen rab dag la slar zhus pa% |
| e ma yab cig gshen rab mchog/ | e ma yab cig gshen rab mchog/ | e ma yab 1 gshen rab mchog% |
| 'jig rten stong par gyur tsam kyis/ | 'jig rten stong pa gyur tsam gyi/ | 'jig rten stong par gyur tsam gyi% |
| 'gro ba lhag med sangs rgyas nas/ | 'gro ba lhag med sangs rgyas rnams/ | 'gro ba lhag med sangs rgyas na% |
| rgyal bu lcam dral lus pa 'di/ | rgyal ba lcam dral lus pa 'di/ | rgyal bu lcam gral lus pa 'di% |
| ci'i rgyu dang ci'i rkyen/ | ci'i rgyu dang ci'i rkyen/ | ci'i rgyu dang ci'i rkyen% |
| dbyings dang ye shes thabs kyi sku/ | dbying dang ye shes thabs kyi sku/ | dbying dang ye shes thabs kyi sku% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| sku gsum kha' la yab pa cig/ | sku gsungs mkhar la yab ba cig/ | sku 3 mkha' la yal cing% |
| ces zhus/ ston pas bka' brtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pa bka' brtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' brtsal pa% |
| dpo' rgyal sngun dus sangs rgyas pa/ | dpo' rgyal sngon du sangs rgyas pa/ | dpo' rgyal sngun du sangs rgyas pa% |
| tshogs bsags sgrib pa byang ba yin/ | tshogs bsags sgrub pa'i byung ba'i/ | tshog bsag sgrib pa sbyang ba yin% |
| rgyal bu ming sring lus pa 'di/ | rgyal bu med srid lus pa 'di/ | rgyal bu ming sring lus pa ni% |
| rgyal bu skye ba lnga brgya ru/ | rgyal bu skye ba lnga brgya ru/ | rgyal bu skye ba lnga brgya ru% |
| 'tshams med sdig pa spyod pa [81] yin/ | 'tsham med sdig pa spyod pa yin/ | 'tsham med sdig pa spyad pa yin% |
| dus 'dir rgyal bu skyes pa ste/ | dus 'dir rgyal bu skyes pa ste/ | dus 'dir rgyal bur skyes pa ste% |
| da rung lhag ma ma dag pas/ | da rung lhag ma ma dag pas/ | da rung lhag ma ma dag pas% |
| bdag nyid mya ngan 'das tsam nas// | bdag nyid mya ngan 'das tsam na/ | bdag nyid mya ngan 'das tsam na% |
| thar pa'i go 'phong bzod thob bo/ | thar pa'i gong 'phong gzung thob po/ | thar pa'i go 'phang bzod thob po% |
| sring mo dpo' zang thang mo ni/ | sring mo dpo' za thang mo yin/ | sring mo dpo' za thang mo ni% |
| sngon nas bdag dang me tog 'thor/ | sngon nas bdag dang me tog gtor/ | sngon nas bdag la me tog gtor/ |
| smon lam lhan cig btab pa'i/ | smon lam btab cig btab pa yi/ | smon lam lhan 1 btab pa'i% |
| bdag gis grogs su phran pa yin// | bdag gis grogs su 'phrad pa yin/ | bdag gi grogs su phrad pa yin% |
| de phyir rgyal pos phul ba legs/ | de phyir rgyal po phul ba lags/ | de phyir rgyal pos phul ba leg% |
| ces gsung dpo' za thang mo ni// | ces gsung [f.40a] dpo' za thang mo ni/ | ces gsung dpo' za thang mo ni% |
| ston pa gshen rab khab tu bzhes/ | ston pa gshen rab kha (khab) tu bzhengs (bzhes)/ | [f.36a] ston pa gshen rab khab du bzhes% |
| kho ma ne'u chung dag tu bsus/ | khong ni ne'u chung bdag tu bsu'/ | khong ma ne chung dag du bsus% |
| dga' ston bkra shis lha gsol byas/ | dga' ston bkra' lha gsol ba bya/ | rga ldan bkra shis lha gsol byas% |
| nor sbyin dag gis g.yang yang blangs/ | nor sbyin bdag gis g.yang yang blan/ | nor sbyin dag gis g.yang sa glan% |
| sras bu lung 'dren rgyud 'dren 'khrungs/ | sras bu lung 'dren rgyu 'dren 'khrungs/ | sras bu lung 'dren rgyud 'dren 'khrung% |
| bu mo gshen za ne'u chung bltams/ | bu mo gshen za ne'u chung bltams/ | bu mo gshen za ne'u chung brtam% |

<table>
<tr>
<td>mi nor sna dgu phogs su byin/<br>gto sgro spyad sgro bka' ru gtad/<br>de nas phyi rol tshal bzhi ru/<br>lha rgyud gshen rgyud srid rgyud dang/<br>don rgyud rgyud sde bzhi rnams dang/<br>don mdo bcu bon gyi [82] 'khor lo bskor/<br>lung 'dren rgyud 'dren dag la gtad/<br>rgyal po dpo'i 'gro don mthar phyin no/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon/ mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las/ rgyal po dpo'i 'gro don mdzad cing dpo' za thang mo khab tu khab tu bzhes pa'i le'u ste bcu pa'o// //</td>
<td>mi nor sna dgu phyogs su bya/<br>gto sgron spyad sgron bka' ru btang/<br>de nas phyi rol tshal bzhin du/<br>lha rgyu gshen rgyu srid rgyud dang/<br>bon rgyud rgyu sde rnam bzhi dang/<br>mdo' bcud bon gyi 'khor …bskor/<br>lung 'dren rgyud 'dren dag la gtad/<br>rgyal po 'gro don mthar phyin pa/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo 'dus pa rin po che rgyud las/ rgyal po dpo'i 'gro don mdzad cing/ dpo' za thang mo khab tu bzhengs (bzhes) pa'i le'u ste bcu pa'o/</td>
<td>mi nor sna dgu phogs su byin%<br>gto sgrom dpyad sgrom bka' ru gtad%<br>de nas phyi rol tshal 4 ru%<br>lha rgyud gshen rgyud srid rgyud dang%<br>don rgyud rgyud sde 4 rnams dang%<br>mdo' bcu bon gyi 'khor lo bskor%<br>lung 'dren rgyud 'dren dag la gtad%<br>rgyal po dpo'i 'gro don mthar phyin no%<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon% mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las% rgyal po dpo'i 'gro don mdzad cing% dpo za thang mo khab du bzhes pa'i le'u ste bcu pa'o%/ %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="3"><br>mDo 'dus (Chapter xi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[p. 82]<br>de nas ston pa gshen rab la/<br>gsang ba mdo rgyud kyi zhus pa/<br>e ma shes rab phul phyung ba'i/<br>ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa nyid/<br>kong tse 'phrul gyis rgyal po'i/<br>dgongs pa yongs su grub pa'i/<br>rgyu dang rkyen rnams ci ltar lags/<br>ces zhus/ ston pas bka' rtsal pa//<br>kye ma 'dus pa'i 'khor rnams nyon//</td>
<td>[f.40a]<br>de nas ston pa gshen rab lags/<br>gsung ba mdo' sdud gyi zhus pa/<br>e ma shes rab phul phyung ba'i/<br>ston pa thams cad mkhyen [f.40b] pa nyid/<br>kong tse 'phrul gyi rgyal po yi/</td>
<td>[f.35b]<br>de nas ston pa gshen rab la%<br>gsang ba mdo sdud gyi zhus pa/<br>e ma shes rab phul byung ba'i%<br>ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa nyid%<br>kong tshe 'phrul gyi rgyal po'i/<br>rgongs pa yongs su grub pa'i%<br>[f.36a] rgyu dang rkyen rnams ci tar lag%<br>ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa/<br>kye ma 'dus pa'i 'khor rnams nyon%</td>
</tr>
</table>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| gang du 'dzam gling lho tshogs nas/ | gang du 'dzam gling lho phyogs ni/ | gong du 'dzam gling lho phyog nas% |
| rgyal po sa'i snying po la/ | rgyal po mi yi snying po la/ | rgyal po sa'i snying po la% |
| bu ni che ba rtag blo gsal/ | bu ni che ba blo gsal la/ | bu ni che ba rtag blo gsal% |
| de'i pha'i mgo bo bcad/ | de'i pha'i mgo bo bcad/ | de'i pha'i mgo'o bcad% |
| 'bring ba sdang sdems mchog/ | 'bring ba sdud sems mchog/ | 'bring ba sdang sems mchog% |
| de'i ma'i nu ma bcad/ | de yi ma yin nus ma bcad/ | de'i ma'i nu ma bcad/ |
| bu chung [83] gsol mchog dge ba spyad/ | bu chung ba'i gsal mchog dge ba spyod/ | bu chung gsal mchog dge ba spyad% |
| sngun du pho bo gnyis che 'phos te/ | sngon du pho bo nyid kyi tshe 'phos te/ | sngon du pho bo 2 tshe 'phos te% |
| bdag ni rgyal bu sdig pa can/ | bdag ni rgyal bu sdig pa can/ | bdag ni rgyal bu sdig pa can% |
| klu srin nag por skye gyur nas/ | klu srin nag po skye gyur nas/ | klu srin nag por skyes 'gyur gyang/ |
| gcung po dge ba spyod pa'i/ | gcu po dge ba spyod pa yin/ | gcung po dge ba spyod pa'i/ |
| grogs cig byed pa'i smon lam btabs/ | grog cig byed pa'i smon lam btab/ | grog 1 byed pa'i smon lam btab% |
| rgyal po gsal mchog tshe 'phos pas/ | rgyal po gsal mchog tshe 'phos pa/ | rgyal po gsal mchog tshe 'phos pa% |
| 'ol mo gling gis nub phyogs su/ | 'ol mo gling gis nub phyogs su/ | 'ol mo gling gi nub phyogs su% |
| yul na (ni) rgyal lag 'od ma'i gling// | yul la rgyu la 'od ma gling/ | yul ni rgya lag 'od ma gling/ |
| mkhar ni khri sgo rtse brgya nas/ | mkhar ni khri sgo rtse brgyad nas/ | mkhar ni khri sgo rtse brgya na% |
| grong khyer 'phrul bsgyur bkod pa ru/ | grong khyer 'phrul sgyur bkod pa rus/ | grong khyer 'phrul bsgyur bkod pa ru% |
| yab ka 'da ma gser 'od dang/ | yan [f.41a] ka dha la gser 'od dang/ | yab ka dha la gser 'od dang% |
| btsun mo mu tri gsas 'od ma'i/ | btsun mo mu dre gsal 'od ma/ | btsun mo mu khri gsal 'od ma'i% |
| sras kong tse 'phrul gyis rgyal por skyes/ | sras kong tse 'phrul gyi rgyal po skyes/ | sras kong tse 'phrul gyi rgyal por skyes% |
| de dad pa bsod nams dge stobs kyis/ | dge ba dang po bsod stob kyi/ | de dad pa bsod nam [f.37a] dge stob kyis% |
| mu khyud bdal pa'i mtsho gling du/ | mu khyu bdal pa'i mtsho gling du/ | mu khyud bdal pa'i mtsho gling du% |
| srin po stag gis grog byed de/ | srin po stong gis grog byed do/ | srin po stong gi grog byed de% |
| gsas khang chen chen bzhing pa'i/ | gsas khang chen po bzheng pa yang/ | gsas khang chen po bzhing pa'i% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| rlung rdor rje rgya gram gzhi la rmang bris/ | rlung rdo rje rgya gram gzhi la rming du bri/ | rlung rdo rje rgya gram gzhi la rming du bris% |
| mtsho khar rming thon grub la nye ba la/ | mtsho khar rming thon grub la nye ba la/ | mtsho' khar rming thon grub la nye pa la% |
| btsun mo gnyen lcam [84] 'od ma gsal/ | btsun mo gnyes lcam 'od ma gsal/ | btsun mo gnyan lcam 'od ma gsal% |
| g.yag 'khor bcas pas tshor nas mthong/ | g.yon 'khor bcas pa tshor nas mthong/ | g.yog 'khor bcas pas tshor nas mthong/ |
| gsang tshig yum la shor ba'i nyes pa yis/ | gser gsung tshogs yum la shor ba nyes pa yin/ | gsang tshig yum la shor ba'i nyes pa'i% |
| srin po'i dmag stong the les btabs nas khyer/ | srin po dmag stong tho le btab nas byung/ | srin po dmag stong tho les btab nas byer% |
| de tshe mgon btsun phyi'i grong khyer nas/ | de tshe mgon mtho? mgo sum phya'i grong khyer nas/ | de tshe mgon sum phya'i grong khyer nas% |
| phya en tse len med thugs rje skyes/ | phya an tse lan med thugs rje skyes/ | phya en tshe lan thugs rje skyes/ |
| kong tse 'phrul gyis rgyal po yis/ | gang tse 'phrul gyi rgyal po yi/ | kong tse 'phrul gyi rgyal po'i% |
| dge skos mtha' ru phyin bya'i phyir/ | rge skos mtha' ru phyin pa'i phyir/ | dge skos mtha' ru phyin bya'i phyir% |
| khye'u chung tsi ber dung 'phring ('phreng) can du byon/ | khye'u chung tsir be dung 'phring can du byon/ | khye'u chung dung 'phring tsi ber can du byon% |
| lha srin 'tshams kyis gzu'o mdzad/ | lha srin 'tsham gyis gzung bo mdzod/ | lha srin 'tsham gyi gzu'o mdzad% |
| dge dang mi dge'i shen phrag phyes// | dge dang mi [f.41b] rge dang mi shan phran phyes/ | dge dang mi dge shan phrag phyes/ |
| dge ba'i skos thebs lha mi rgyal gyur te// | dge ba'i skos thob lha'i mi rgyal gyur te/ | dge ba'i skos theb lha mi rgyal 'gyur te% |
| kong tse rgyal po yid rang rab tu thob/ | gong rtse rgyal po yid rang rab tu thob/ | kong tse 'phrul gyi rgyal po yi rang rab tu thobs% |
| dge ba'i skos mkhan an tse phya la zhus/ | dge ba'i skes mkhan an tse phya la zhus/ | dge ba'i skos mkhan en tshe phya la zhus% |
| de tshe lha bu yid ni smon lam skyes/ | de tshe lta bu yid bzhin smon lam skyes/ | de tshe lha bu yid 4n smon lam skyes% |
| skyin gyi ral ga gyon zhing gser gyis ral gri | skyo yi rul ka gyon cig gser yi ral gri thob/ | skyin gyi ral ka gyon [f.37b] zhing gser gyi ral |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| thogs// | | dri thog% |
| klu'i bu tsa dung sprul thor gtsug can/ | klu'i bu tsa dung sprul thor tsug can/ | klu'i bu tsa dung sbrul thor tsug can% |
| gsas khang brtsigs pa'i las ni nged kyi byed do zer/ | gsas khang brtseg pa rgyal nyid gsung tshig nyam/ | gsas khang rtsig pa'i las ni nged gyis bya'o zer/ |
| de tshe srin po mya ngan dmod pa skyes gyis [85] ni/ | | de tshe srin po mye ngan dmod pa skyes kyi ni/ |
| srin gyis gsas khang brtsigs du/<br>rgyal nyid gsang tshig mnyam/ | | srin gyi gsas khang rtsig du rgyal nyid gsang tshig nyams/ |
| khye'u chung tsi ber can khyod/ slob dpon dgo'am ci/ | khye chung tse ber can khyod slob dpon skyo'am ci/ | khye'u chung tsi ber can khyod slob dpon rgos sam ci% |
| ces pas/ a tse lan gsungs pas// | ces pas a tse lan gsungs pa/ | ces pas/ en tses lan gsung pa% |
| lus rin po che 'od kyis dpe'i gzhi bting te/ | lus rin chen 'od kyi dpe gzhi bting ste/ | lus rin chen 'od gyi dpe'i gzhi bting ste% |
| thugs 'phrul gyis bang mdzod kyis don khog phub te/ | thug 'phrul kyis mdzod gyi khog phub ste/ | thugs 'phrul gyi bang mdzod gyi khog phub te% |
| dbang po nyi ma'i zer la bden lam drang/ | dbang po nyi ma zer la bde lam drud/ | dbang po nyi ma'i zer la bden lam drang/ |
| rig pa gar spyin 'dra ba'i tshig gis 'bru sbyar te/ | rig pa gar sbyin 'dra bas tshig gi 'bru spungs/ | rig pa kar spyin 'dra bas tshigs gi 'bru sbyar te% |
| blo rig pa'i ye shes thams cad mkhyen bar shar/ | rig pa'i ye shes thams cad mkhyer pa shar/ | blo rig pa'i ye shes thams cad mkhyen par shar% |
| ljag 'phrul ldes phyes pas slob dpon dgos sam ci/ | ljags 'phrul lde phyes pas/<br>slob dpon dge ba sems can cig/ | ljag 'phrul ldes phyes pas slob dpon dgos sam ci% |
| ces pas srin po skyeng de song/ | ces pa sngon skyon te song/ | ces pas srin po skying ste song/ |
| der lha glu lha ma yin gyis brtsigs/ | der lha klu lha ma yin kyi brtsig/ | der lha klu lha ma yin gyi brtsigs/ |
| de rming rtsal ldan srin gyis gyis brtsigs pas | [f.42a] gzhi la rtse ldan gyis brtseg pa rten/ | de rming rtsal ldan srin gyi brtsig pas brtan% |

| brten/ | | |
|---|---|---|
| bar gnyen po lhas btags pas brjid/ | bdag nyid gnyen po las btab par brjod/ | pad gnyan po lhas btag pas brjid/ |
| nang rdzu 'phrul klus bris pas bkra/ | nang rdzu 'phrul klu bris pa bkra'/ | nang rdzu 'phrul klus bris pas bkra% |
| skos sgam po phyas mdzad pas legs/ | skos sgam po phyas mdzed pa legs/ | skos sgam po phyas mdzad pas leg% |
| lag bsod ldan mis bla bas grub/ | lag bsod ldan mig blangs grub/ | lag bsod ldan mis [f.38a] blang pas grub% |
| byin bder gshegs lhas brlabs pas rgyas/ | byin bder gshegs lha rlabs pas rgyas/ | byin bder gsheg lhas brlab bas rgyas% |
| [86] bstan pa rnams gsum rjes bzhag mdzad pas ni ngo mtshar ro/ / | ston pa rnam gsum rje bzhag mdzad pa ni ngo mtshar che'o/ | bstan pa rnams 3 rjes bzhag mdzad pas ni ngo mtshar ro/ |
| de yang gsas khang zhal sros su/ | de yang gsas khang zhal sros su/ | de yang gsas khang zhal bsro dus% |
| ston pa gshen rab 'khor bcas spyan drong nas/ | ston pa gshen rab 'khor bcas spyan drang te/ | ston pa gshen rab 'khor bcas spyan drang so% |
| sku yon gser gyi ban glang la/ | sku g.yas g.yon gser gyi ban glang la/ | sku yon gser gyi ban glang la% |
| rin chen sna tshogs bstad dang/ | rin chen sna tshogs sga stod dang/ | rin chen sna tshog sgas stad dang% |
| dar mtshon mdzes pa'i rmad gos phul/ | dar mtshon mdzes pa'i rmad gos phul/ | dar mtshon mdzes pa'i rmad gos phul% |
| bkra gsal mdzes pa'i mchod sprin bsham// | bkra' gsal mdzes pa'i mchod sprin bsham/ | bkra gsal mdzes pa'i mchod sprin bsham% |
| kar nag bkra gsal zhal sros mdzad// | dkar nag bkra gsal zhal sros mdzad/ | dkar nag bkra gsal zhal sros mdzad% |
| de tshe bdud ni gdug pa'i tshogs/ | de tshe bdud srid gdug pa tshogs/ | de tshe bdud srin gdug pa'i tshog% |
| phyogs bzhi dag nas bar chod brtsams/ | phyogs bzhi dag nas bar chad brtsam/ | phyog 4 dag nas bar chod brtsam% |
| de'i tshe mtshan ldan khye'u bzhi yang/ | de tshe mtshan ldan khye'u bzhi yis/ | de tshe mtshan ldan khye'u 4 yang% |
| rngams pa'i 'khro chen ru bzhi sprul/ | | rngam pa'i khro chen ru 4r sprul/ |
| | | |
| shar nas zo bo dbu dgu byung/ | shar nas zo bo dbu dgu byung/ | shar nas zo'o dgu byung% |
| byang na gze ma dbu dgu byung/ | lho nas ru po rtse dgu byung/ | nub nas ru co sde dgu byung% |
| nub na ru tso dbu dgu byung/ | nub nas ru co dbu dgu byung/ | byang nas gze ma dbu rgu byung/ |
| lho nas rom po dbu dgu byung/ | byang nas gze ma dbu dgu byung/ | lho nas rom po dbu dgu byung% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'jigs pa'i dbu dang zhal gyis bswo sgra yin/ | 'jigs pa dbu dang zhal gyi bswo [f.42b] sgra yi/ | 'jigs pa'i dbu dang zhal gyis bso sgra'i% |
| bdud srin bar chod dmags rnams rgyangs 'tshams bcad/ | bdud srin bar chod dmags rnams rgyang 'tsham bcad/ | bdud srin bar chod dmag rnam rgyang 'tsham bcad% |
| mtha'i lcag ri rgyab tu thams cad ma lus bdas/ | mtha'i lcag ris rgyab tu ma lus bdos/ | mtha'i lcags ri rgyab du thams cad ma lus bdas% |
| bswo rag sheg zhi thun/ ge [87] rlung myal thum/ | bso ragsha ge zhi thum ge du dmyal dmyal thum/ | bso rag sha ge zhi thum% ge rgyud myal myal thum% |
| ces brjod bdud dang srin po btul/ | ces brjod bdud dang srin po btul/ | ces brjod srin [f.38b] po btul% |
| de rjes gtso bzhi bder gshegs stong rtsa brgyad/ | de rje gtso' bzhi bder gshegs stong rtsa brgyad/ | de rjes gtso 4 bder gshegs stong rtsa brgyad% |
| mkha' la sprin dpung gtib ba ltar byon/ | mkha' la sprin dpung gtib ltar byon/ | mkha' la sprin dpung gtib ltar byon% |
| byin rlabs rmad byung cho 'phrul bstan/ | byin rlab rmad 'byung cho 'phrul ston/ | byin rlab rmad 'byung cho 'phrul bstan/ |
| sa yang rnams pa drug du g.yos/ | sa yang rnam par drug du g.yos/ | sa yang rnam pa drug du g.yos/ |
| de tshe kong tse 'phrul rgyal gyis/ | de tshe kong rtse 'phrul rgyal kyi/ | de tshe kong tse 'phrul rgyal kyi% |
| ston pa la ni nges zhus pa/ | ston pa la ni nges zhus pa/ | ston pa la ni nges zhus pa% |
| shes rab phul 'byung ston pa'i mchog/ | shes rab phul phyung ston pa mchog/ | shes rab phul 'byung ston pa'i mchog% |
| pho brang lhun gyis grub pa dang/ | pho brang lhun gyi grub pa dang/ | pho brang lhun gyi grub pa dang% |
| gtso bzhi bder gshegs stong rtsa brgyad/ | gtso bzhi bder gshegs stong rtsa brgyad/ | gtso 4 bder gshegs stong rtsa brgyad% |
| mkha' la sprin gtib nas kyang// | mkhar la sprin ltar gting pa dang/ | mkha' la sprin ltar gtib nas kyang% |
| byin brlab cher du bab pa dang/ | byin rlab char ltar 'beb pa dang/ | byin rlab char ltar 'bab pa dang/ |
| mchod pa sprin dpung 'byung ba'i/ | mchod pa sprin dpung 'byung ba'i/ | mchod pa'i phrin dpung 'byung pa'i% |
| rgyu dang rkyen rnams ci ltar lags/ | rgyun dang rkyen rnams ci ltar lags/ | rgyu dang rkyen rnams ci ltar lag% |
| ston pas 'khor la bka' rtsal pa/ | ston pa'i 'khor la bka' rtsal pa/ | ston pas 'khor la bka' rtsal pa% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| pho brang lhun gyis grub pa ni/ | pho brang lhun gyi grub pa ni/ | pho brang lhun gyi grub pa ni% |
| rgyal po dad pa skyes pa dang/ | rgyal po [f.43b] dang pa bskyes pa dang/ | rgyal po dad pa skyes pa dang% |
| bsod nams bsags pa'i rgyu las byung/ | bsod nams bsags pa rgyu las byung/ | bsod nam bsags pa'i rgyu las byung/ |
| rkyen ni kun bzang thugs sprul pa'i/ | rkyen ni kun bzang thugs sprul pa/ | rkyen ni kun bzang thugs sprul pa'i% |
| en tse lan med phya'i byas/ | an tse lan med phya'i byas/ | en tse lan med phya'i byas% |
| mkha' la bder gshegs sprin ltar 'dus/ | mkha' la bder gshegs sprin ltar btib/ | mkha' la bder gshegs sprin ltar 'dus% |
| thugs rje [88] 'gron don gzigs pa ste/ | thugs rje 'gro don gzigs pa ste/ | thugs rje 'gro don gzigs pa ste% |
| rgyal po dag pa'i snang ba yin/ | rgyal po dag pa snang ba yin/ | rgyal po dag pa'i snang ba yin% |
| bde bar gshegs pa gtso bzhi ni/ | bde bar gshegs pa gtso bzhi ni/ | bde bar gshegs pa gtso 4 ni% |
| dbyings dang ye shes mkha' la mnyam/ | dbyings dang ye shes mkha' la mnyam/ | dbying dang ye shes mkha' la mnyam% |
| thabs dang shes rab zung du 'brel/ | thabs dang shes rab zung du 'brel/ | thabs dang shes rab zung du 'brel% |
| tshad med bzhi yis thugs rje byung/ | tshad med bzhi'i thugs rje 'byung/ | tshad [f.39a] med 4'i thugs rje byung/ |
| deng 'dir yon bdag byed pa ni/ | der 'dir yon bdag byed pa dang/ | ding 'dir yon bdag byed pa ni% |
| sngon du rgyal po gsal mtshog gis/ | sngon du rgyal po gsal mchog gis/ | sngon du rgyal po gsal mchog gi% |
| bdag la dge tshogs bsags pa'i/ | bdag la dge tshogs bsags pa yi/ | bdag la dge tshogs bsags pa'i% |
| snga ma'i las 'brel bzhag pa'i/ | snga ma las 'brel bzhag pa'o/ | snga ma'i las 'brel bzhag pa'i% |
| bstan pa rnam gsum rjes bzhag ni/ | bstan pa rnam gsum rjes bzhag ni/ | bstan pa rnam 3 rjes bzhag gi ni% |
| 'gro don mtha' ru phyin pa'o// // | 'gro don mtha' ru phyin pa'o/ | 'gro don mtha' ru phyin pa'o% |
| ces gsungs bkra shis zhal sros dang/ | ces gsungs bkra shis zhal sros dang/ | ces gsung bkra shis zhal bsros dang% |
| ding dir rgyu sbyor yon gyi bdag/ | deng 'dir rgyu sbyor yon gyi bdag/ | ding 'dir rgyu sbyor yon gyi bdag% |
| sgos btsan kong tse 'khrul rgyal dang/ | sgos btsan kong tse 'khrul rgyal dang/ | sgo btsan gong tse 'phrul rgyal dang% |
| spyi btsan ris drug sems can rnams/ | spyir brtsan rigs drug sems can rnams/ | spyi btsan rig drug sems can rnam/ |
| gsas khang chen po bzheng pa dang/ | gsas [f.43b] khang chen po bzhings pa dang/ | gsas khang chen po bzhing pa dang% |
| bder gshegs stong gis mtshan brjod cing/ | bder gshegs stong gis mtshan brjod cing/ | bder gshegs stong gi mtshan brjod cing% |

<table>
<tr><td>bstan pa rnams gsum rgyas 'gyur nas/<br><br>dge ba mtha' ru rgyas 'gyur te/<br>kun kyis bla med 'bras bu thob par shog/<br>ces gsungs so/ kong tse las sog 'khor rga mgu rjes su [89] yid rang nas/<br>rga ston mchod pa cher byas so/<br><br>de nas kong tse 'phrul rgyal gyis<br>bu mo 'phrul bsgyur khab tu phul/<br>sras bu 'phrul bu chungs 'khrungs ste/<br>gtsug lag rtsis gyis bon la mkhas/<br>de la ston pa gshen rab kyis/<br>rdzu 'phrul rkang pa bzhi ldan pas/<br>khri smon rgyal bzhad dag tu byon/<br>bkra shis zhal sros cher byas so/ /<br>g.yung drung dag pa'i bon/ mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las/ bstan pa rnams gsum rjes bzhag mdzad pa'i le'u ste bcu cig pa'o// //</td><td>ston pa rnam sum rjes bzhag pa/<br>bstan pa yongs su rgyas gyur la/<br>dge ba mtha' ru rgyas 'gyur le/<br>kun gyi bla med 'bras bu thob par shog/<br>ces gsungs kong rtse la sogs 'khor rnams dga' mgu rjes su yid rang nas/<br>dga' stod mchod stod mchod pa cher byas so/<br>de nas kong tse 'phrul rgyal gyi<br>bu mo 'phrul bsgyur khab tu phul/<br>sras bu 'phrul bu chung 'khrung ste/<br>gtsug la rtsi kyi bon la mkhas/<br>de nas ston pa gshen rab kyi/<br>rdzu 'phrul rkang pa bzhi ldan pas/<br>khri smon rgyal bzhad dag tu byon/<br>bkra shis zhal sros che byas so/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon 'di 'dus pa rin po che rgyud la/ bstan pa rnam [f.44a] gsum rje bzhag mdzad pa le'u ste bcu gcig pa'o/</td><td>bstan pa rnams 3 rgyas 'gyur nas%<br><br>dge ba mtha' ru rgyas 'gyur ste%<br>kun gyis bla med 'bras bu thob par shog%<br>ces gsung kong tshe la sogs 'khor dga' mgu rjes su yid rang nas%<br>dga' ston mchod pa cher byas so/<br><br>de nas kong tshe 'phrul rgyal gyi bu mo 'phrul sgyur khab du phul%<br>sras bu 'phrul bu chung 'khrung ste%<br>gtsug lag rtsis kyis bon la mkhas%<br>de nas ston pa gshen rab gyang%<br>rdzu 'phrul rkang pa 4 ldan par/<br>[f.39b] khri smon rgyal bzhad dag tu byon%<br>bkra shis zhal bsros cher byas so%<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon% mdo' 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las% bstan pa rnams 3 rjes bzhag gi mdzad pa'i le'u ste bcu 1 pa'o//</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"><br>mDo 'dus (Chapter xii)</td></tr>
<tr><td>[p.89]<br>de nas ston pa gshen rab la//<br>gshen za ne'u chung gis zhus pa/</td><td>[f. 44a ]<br>de nas ston pa gshen rab lag/<br>gshen za ne'u chung gis zhus pa</td><td>[f.39b]<br>de nas ston pa gshen rab la%<br>gshen za na'u chung gi zhus pa/</td></tr>
</table>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mchod pa phul nas zhus pa'i mdo/ | mchod pa phul nas zhus pa mdo'/ | mchod pa phul nas zhus pa'i mdo% |
| e ma yab cig gshen rab mchog/ | e ma yab cig gshen rab mchog/ | e ma yab 1 gshen rab mchog% |
| dpa' brten 'gyur med thams cad mkhyen/ | dpal rten 'gyur med thams cad mkhyen/ | dpa' brtan 'gyur med thams cad mkhyen% |
| rgyal bon myes kyi sa yang non/ | rgyal po myos kyi sa yod nas/ | rgyal bon mes kyi sa yang non% |
| thugs rje 'gro don mdzad la bstod/ | thugs rje 'gro don mdzad la bstod pa/ | thugs rje 'gro don mdzad la bstod% |
| bdag ni khyab pas blo brkus ste/ | bdag ni khyab pa blo rku ste/ | bdag ni khyab pas blo brkus ste% |
| [90] lan cig 'khrul pas blo re 'gyod/ | lan cig 'khrul pa blo re 'gyod/ | lan chag 'khrul pas blo re 'gyod% |
| stab bu thungs dang gzigs bu thungs/ | stab bu thung dang gzig bu thung/ | stag bu thung dang gzig bu thung% |
| las ngan 'brel pas snying ra rje/ | las ngan 'brel pa snying re rje/ | las ngan 'brel bas snying re rje% |
| lan chags 'jal te nu ma byin/ | lan chags 'jal te nu ma 'byin/ | lan chag 'jal te nu ma byin% |
| 'di las 'brel ci ltar lags/ | 'di yi lus 'brel ci ltar lags/ | 'di’i las 'brel ci tar lags/ |
| dang po bdud rnams gang nas byungs/ | dang po bdud rnams gang nas 'byung/ | dang po bdud rnams ci tar byung% |
| bar du bdud de gang du gnas/ | | bar du bdud de gang du nyas (gnas)% |
| ston pa'i bden pa'i bar chad ci/ | | ston pa bden pa'i bar chod cing% |
| tha mar bdud rnams ci ltar gyur/ | tha mar bdud rnams ci ltar 'gyur/ | tha mar bdud rnams ci tar ‘gyur/ |
| ces zhus/ ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pa'i bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ |
| ne'u chung la sogs 'khor rnam nyon/ | ne chung la sogs 'khor rnams nyon/ | ne'u chung la sogs 'khor rnams nyon% |
| gshen thugs la 'khrul pa med/ | [f.44b] gshen rab thugs la 'khrul pa med/ | gshen rab thugs las 'khrul pa [f.40a] med% |
| mngon shes gsal bas bslu mi nus/ | mngon shes gsal ba bslu mi nus/ | mngon shes gsal bas bslu mi nus% |
| bden pa'i don la rdzun pa med/ | bden pa'i don la rdzun pa med/ | bden pa'i don la rdzun pa med% |
| nyi ma'i dkyil nas mun pa med/ | nyi ma dkyil nas mun pa med/ | nyi ma'i dkyil na mun pa med% |
| skye 'gro rlung la mi brten med/ | skye 'gro rlung la mi rten med/ | skye 'gro rlung la mi brte med% |
| srog chags chu la mi 'thung med/ | srog chag chu la mi 'thung med/ | srog chag chu la mi 'thung med% |
| bder gshegs bka' la mi nyan med/ | bder gshegs bka' la mi nyan med/ | bder gshegs bka' la mi nyan med% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| g.yung drung bon la mi spyod med// | g.yung drung bon la mi spyod med/ | g.yung drung bon la mi spyod med% |
| bslu ba'i kha la nyan pa med/ | bslu ba'i kha la nyan pa med/ | bslu ba'i kha la nyan pa med% |
| gshen rab cig bur mngon sangs rgyas/ | gshen rab cig bu mngon sangs rgyas/ | gshen rab cig bu mngon sangs rgyas% |
| khyab pas [91] 'dren ste do bsdos nas/ | khyab pa 'gro te ngo stos/ | khyab pa 'dran te do bsdo ba% |
| bdag gis 'dren zlar song ba yin/ | sngon nas 'gran zla song ba yi/ | sngon nas 'gran zlar song ba yin% |
| ne'u chung bdud kyis bslus pa de/ | ne'u chung bdud kyi bslu ba des/ | ne'u chung bdud gyi bslus pa te% |
| sngon gyis gza' 'brel 'brel smon lam yod/ | sngon gyi gza' 'brel smon lam yin/ | sngon gyi gza' 'brel smon lam yod% |
| stag bu thung gzigs bu thung yod pa de/ | stag bu gzig bu yod pa de/ | stag bu gzig bu yod pa de% |
| khra'o rgod dang khra mo rgod/ | khro bo rgod dang khra mo rgod/ | khra bo rgod dang khro mo rgod/ |
| snga ma'i gza' 'brel yod pa yin// | snga ma zla 'brel yod pa yin/ | snga ma'i zla 'brel yod pa yin% |
| dang po bdud rnam gang nas byung/ | dang po bdud rnam gang nas byung/ | dang po bdun rnams gang nas byung% |
| ma rig ma rtogs rgyud las byung/ | [f.45a] ma rig ma rtog rgyud las byung/ | ma rig ma rtog rgyu las byung% |
| bdud la rnam pa lnga yod de/ | bdud la rnam par lnga yod de/ | bdud la rnam pa lnga yod de% |
| kun nas nyon mongs pa'i bdud/ | kun nas nyon mongs pa'i bdud/ | kun nas nyon mong pa'i bdud% |
| phung po nye bar len pa'i bdud/ | phung po nye bar len pa bu'i bdud/ | phung po nye bar len pa'i bdud/ |
| 'chi bdag las brtsan dag gis bdud dang/ | 'chi bdag las brtsan dag gis bdud/ | 'chi bdag las brtsan dag gis bdud% |
| sgyu ma 'khrul pa gzugs brnyen bdud/ | sgyu ma 'khrul pa gzugs rnyed bdud/ | sgyu ma 'khrul pa zugs brnyan bdud% |
| lha'i bu'i bdud dang lnga/ | lha'i bu dang bdud dang lnga/ | lha'i bu'i bdud dang lnga% |
| de yang nyon mongs bdud la lnga/ | de yang nyon mongs bdud lnga lha/ | de yang nyon mong bdud la lnga% |
| 'dod chags chu bo bdud/ | 'dod chag chu bo bdud dang/ | 'dod chag [f.40b] chu bo'i bdud/ |
| zhe sdang me 'bar bdud/ | zhe sdang me 'bar bdud/ | zhe sdang me 'bar bdud% |
| gti mug mun 'thib bdud/ | gti mug 'thib bdud/ | gti mug mun 'thibs bdud/ |
| nga rgyal brag ri'i bdud/ | nga rgyal brag ri bdud/ | nga rgyal brag ri'i bdud% |
| 'phrag dog [92] rlung 'tshub bdud dag go/ | 'phro dog rlung 'tshub bdud dag go/ | 'phrag dog rlung 'tshub bdud dag go% |

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|---|---|---|
| nyon mongs bdud kyis bzhen btabs pa/ | nyon mongs bdud kyi zhe btab pas/ | nyon mong bdud gyi bzhen btab pas% |
| phung po lnga ni nye bar blangs/ | phung po lnga ni nye ba blang/ | phung po lnga ni nye bar blangs% |
| zag bcas phung po rnam lnga la/ | zag bcas phung po lnga rnams la/ | zag bcas phung po rnams lnga la% |
| mngon par zhen pa phung po'i bdud/ | mngon par zhen pa phung po bdud/ | mngon par zhen pa phung po'i bdud/ |
| snga ma'i las dang phyi ma'i las/ | snga ma las dang phyi ma'i las/ | snga ma'i las dang phyi ma'i las% |
| srog ni rkyen kyis 'gag pa la/ | srog ni rkyen gyi 'gag pa las/ | srog ni rkyen gyi 'gag pa la/ |
| 'chi bdag las btsan bdud zhes bya/ | 'chi bdag las btsan bdud zhes bya/ | 'chi bdag las btsan bdud zhes bya% |
| 'dod pa'i yon tan lnga rnams ni// | 'dod pa yon tan lnga rnams ni/ | 'dod pa'i yon tan lnga rnams ni/ |
| sgyu ma yin te de la zhen/ | sgyu ma'i yon tan de la zhe/ | sgyu ma yin te de la zhen |
| sgyu ma gzugs brnyen bdud dag go/ | sgyu ma gzugs rnyed bdud dag go/ | sgyu ma zugs brnyan bdud dag go% |
| khyab pa sgyu ma gzugs rnyan bdud/ | khyab pa sgyu ma gzugs rnyed bdud/ | khyab pa sgyu ma zugs brnyan bdud% |
| tshangs ris ma ta'i byang phyogs nas/ | tshangs ring ma ha byang phyogs nas/ | tshang ris ma ta'i byang phyogs na/ |
| bdud yul mun pa'i glang chen nas/ | bdud yul mun [f.45b] pa gling chen nas/ | bdud yul mun pa'i gling chen na/ |
| bdud ni dga' rab dbang phyug bu/ | bdud ni dga' rab dbang phyug bu/ | bdud ni rga rab dbang phyug bu/ |
| bdud ni rgya lag thod rje dang/ | bdud ni rgya lag thod rje la/ | bdud ni rgya lag thod rje dang/ |
| chung ma gtum mo dug 'thung la/ | chung ma gdub ma dug 'thung ma/ | chung ma gtum mo dug 'thung ma% |
| bu ni bdud je(rje) khyab lag rings byung/ | bu ni bdud rje khyab pa lag ring byung/ | bu ni bdud rje khyab pa lag ring byung/ |
| srin mo khrag 'thung snying ri blang/ | srin mo khrag 'thung snying rjes blang/ | srin mo khrag 'thung snying ring blang% |
| bu bdud phrug 'jig rten skyong ba bzhi/ | bu bdud phrug 'jig rten skyong ba bzhin 'thad byed/ | bu bdud phrug 'jig rten skyong pa 4/ |
| 'thab byed chags byed g.yeng byed dang/ | rdzun dang ma mchog byas g.yang byed dang/ | 'thab byed chag byed g.yed byed dang/ |
| rmong bar byed pa bzhi pa'o/ | rmongs pa byed pa rnams bzhi'o/ | rmong par byed pa 4 po'o% |
| [93] mtshon du 'dod pa'i mda' lnga thog/ | mtshan du 'dod pa'i mda' lnga thogs/ | mtshon du 'dod pa'i [f.41a] mda' lnga thog% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| sring mo 'dod pa'i drug 'gyur drug/ | sring mo 'dod pa drug 'gyur drug/ | sring mo 'dod pa'i drug 'gyur drug% |
| g.yo sgyu sum bcu rtsa gnyis 'chang/ | g.yo sgyur sum bcu rtsa gsum 'cha'/ | g.yo sgyu sum bcu rtsa 2 'chang/ |
| 'khor ni bdud byed ba dgu khrir bcas/ | 'khor ni bdud byed dgu khri bye ba bcas/ | 'khor ni bdud bye ba dgu khrir bcas% |
| de ni bdud kyis byung khung lags/ | de ni bdud gyi 'byung khung lags/ | de ni bdud gyi byung khung lag/ |
| de la bdud kyi gnas pa ni/ | de la bdud gyi gnas sa ni/ | de la bdud gyi gnas pa ni/ |
| 'jig rten dregs dang sgrib pa can// | 'jig rten dregs dang sgrib pa can/ | 'jig rten dreg dang sgrib pa can% |
| mi dge log par spyod pa rnams la ni/ | mi dge log pa spyod rnams la/ | mi dge log par spyod rnams la% |
| de la bdud ni rtag du gnas// | de la bdud ni rtag du gnas/ | de la bdud ni rtag du gnas/ |
| 'jigs pa phung po rten la rnam shes so/ | 'jigs pa phung po brten pa rnam shes so/ | 'jigs pa phung po rten pa rnams shes so/ |
| dreg ni dug dreg ni dug lngas dregs pa'o/ | dreg ni dug lnga dreg pa'o/ | dreg ni dug lngas dregs pa'o/ |
| sgrib pa rnam pa gsum yin ste/ | sgrib pa rnams par gsum yin te/ | sgrib pa rnams 3 yin te% |
| nyon mongs sgrib dang las kyis sgrib/ | nyon mongs sgrib dang las kyi sgrib pa can la ni/ | nyon mong sgrib dang las kyi sgrib/ |
| shes bya'i sgrib pa can la ni/ | | shes bya'i sgrib pa can la ni% |
| bdud ni lnga po rtag tu gnas/ | bdud ni lnga po rtag tu gnas/ | bdud ni lnga po ltag du gnas% |
| ston pas bdun pa'i bar chod ni/ | [f.46a] ston pa bden pa bar chad ni/ | ston pa bden pa'i bar chod ni% |
| sngon gyis las kyis 'brel pa ste/ | sngon gyi las kyis 'brel pa ste/ | sngon gyi las kyi 'brel pa ste/ |
| rgyal pos ka dha la gser 'od dang/ | rgyal po ka dha la gser 'od dang/ | rgyal po ka dha la gser 'od dang/ |
| klu mo ma de la skyes/ | klu mo ma ma ti skye la/ | klu mo ma de skyes la% |
| bu rga rgya dam 'byor skyes dang ni/ | bu dga' rgya dal 'byor skyes dang ni/ | bu dga’ rgyas dal 'byor skyes dang ni% |
| rab gsal rtul shugs can dang [94] bzhi/ | rab gsal rtul shugs can dang bzhi/ | rab gsal rtul can dang 4/ |
| gtsan (gcen) gsum brag ka dri la shel gyis brag phugs su sgom/ | gcan gsum brag dkar drel shel yi phug tu sgom/ | gcen 3 brag ka ti la shel gyi brag phug bsgom% |
| gcung pos rgyal sa bzungs pa la/ | gcung po rgyal sa bzung ba la/ | gcung pos rgyal sa bzung pa la/ |

| yab kyis rgyal srid gsum du bgos/ | yongs kyi rgyal po srid gsum bgo/ | yab kyi rgyal srid 3 du bgos% |
| --- | --- | --- |
| cha cig gcen gsum bsgom brgyag gyis/ | cha cig gcan gsum sgo rgyag kyis/ | cha 1 gcen 3 sgom brgyag gyis/ |
| | | |
| cha cig gcung gyis rgyal srid gyis/ | cha cig gzhan la sbyin pa thong/ | [f.41b] cha 1 gzhan la sbyin pa thong/ |
| cha cig gzhan la sbyin pa thongs/ | chang cig gcang gi rgyal srid kyis/ | cha 1 gcung gi rgyal srid gyis% |
| | | |
| ces byas/ gcung gis ma byin te/ | ces byas gcung gis ma byin te/ | ces byas gsung gis ma byin te% |
| mu ge byung du mkhar du zhen/ | mu ge byang du mkhar du byung/ | mu ge byung dus mkhar du zhen% |
| der 'phang gis rgyal bu mda'i bsad/ | der 'bang gi rgyal bu mda' yi bsad/ | der 'bang kyi rgyal bu mda'i bsad/ |
| pho bo gsum gyis bdud gyur dmod/ | pho bo gsum gis bdud gyi dmod/ | pho bo 3 gi bdud gyur dmod% |
| gcen gsum dus gsum gshen rab myur// | gcan gsum dus gsum gshen rab 'gyur/ | gcen 3 dus 3 gshen rab gyur% |
| gcung ba bdud rje khyab pa'o/ | gcung po bdud rje khyab pa'o/ | gcung ba bdud rje khyab pa'o/ |
| de phyir las kyi 'brel pa'o// | de'i phyir las kyi 'brel te/ | de phyir las kyis 'brel pa'o/ |
| yang ston pas bden pa'i bar chod ni/ | | yang ston pa bden pa'i bar chod ni% |
| ston pa bder gshegs pa la/ | | ston pa bde bar gshegs pa la% |
| bdud kyis bar chod mi bsrid do/ | | bdud gyi bar chod mi srid de/ |
| bden pa'i bon g.yung drung bon/ | | bden pa'i bon ni g.yung drung bon% |
| de las bdud kyis las 'bras de/ | | de la bdud gyi las 'bras ste% |
| g.yung drung bon la spyod pa'i/ | g.yung drung bon la spyod pa'i/ | g.yung drung bon la spyod pa'i% |
| 'gro ba rnams la bar chod de/ | 'gro ba rnams la bar chod de/ | 'gro ba rnams la bar chod de/ |
| 'gro ba 'khrul pas rang bdud byed/ | 'gro ba 'khrul pa drang bdud byed/ | 'gro ba 'khrul pas rang bdud byed% |
| nyon mongs [95] sgrib pas sgrib pa la/ | nyon mongs sgrib pa sgrub pa las/ | nyon mong sgrib pas sgrib pa la% |
| bdud kyi 'dod pa'i mda' lnga phog/ | bdud kyi 'dod pa mda' lnga phyogs/ | bdud gyi 'dod pa'i mda' lnga phog% |
| las kyis sgribs ba bsgrib ba la/ | las kyi sgrib pa grub pa las/ | las kyis sgrib pas sgrib pa la% |

| bdud kyis 'jig rten skyong bzhi bsrung/ | bdud kyis 'jig rten skyong bzhi srung/ | bdud gyi 'jig rten skyong 4s bsrung% |
|---|---|---|
| shes bya'i sgribs bas bsgrib pa la/ | shes bya sgrib pa sgrib pa las/ | shes bya'i sgrib pas sgrib pa la% |
| lha'i bu'i bdud kyi bslus/ | lha'i bu ni bdud kyi bslu/ | lha'i bu'i bdud gyi bslu’% |
| mda' lnga phog pa nyon mongs bdud/ | [f.46b] mda' lnga phog pa nyon mongs bdud/ | mda' lnga phog pa nyon mong bdud/ |
| 'jig rten skyongs bzhi bsrungs ba phung po blangs// | 'jig rten skyong bzhi srung ba phung po blang/ | 'jig rten skyong 4s bsrung ba phung po blang |
| chags shing zhen pa phung po'i bdud/ | chag shing zhen pa phung po bdud/ | [f.42a] chag shing zhen pa phung po'i bdud% |
| yang yang phung po nyid 'tshams sbyor// | yang yang phung po nyid 'tsham spyod/ | yang yang phung po nying 'tsham sbyor/ |
| rnams shes zhen yul lnga la chags/ | rnam shes drug ni yul lnga chags/ | rnams shes drug ni yul lnga la chags ste/ |
| zhen pa sgyu ma gzugs brnyen bdud/ | zhen pa sgyu mar gzugs rnyed bdud/ | zhen pa sgyu ma zugs brnyan bdud% |
| 'dus byas 'jigs pa'i 'chi bdag bdud/ | 'dus byas 'jig pa 'chi bdag bdud/ | 'dus byas 'jigs pa 'chi ba’i bdag bdud |
| rnam rtogs lha'i bu'i bdud/ | rnam rtog lha'i bu'i bdud/ | rnams rtogs lha'i bu'i bdud% |
| nga bdag 'dzin pa bdud yin no/ | nga bdag 'dzin pa bdud yin no/ | nga bdag 'dzin pa bdud yin no/ |
| de nas gshen za ne'u chung mas/ | de nas gshen za ne'u chung mas/ | de nas gshen za ne'u chung mas% |
| gshen rab yab la yang zhus pas/ | gshen rab la yang zhus pa/ | gshen rab yab la zhus pa% |
| yab cig gshen rab mi bo lag/ | yab cig gshen rab mi bo la/ | yab 1 gshen rab mi po lags% |
| gshen rab bden par spyod pa las/ | gshen rab bden pa spyod pa la/ | gshen rab bden pa spyod pa la% |
| mi bden bdud kyi bslu ba'i bdud/ | mi bden bdud kyi slu ba'i bdud/ | mi bden bdud gyi bslus pa'i bdud% |
| cho 'phrul stan [96] tshul ci ltar lags/ | cho 'phrul bstan tshul ci ltar las/ | cho 'phrul bstan tshul ci tar lags/ |
| gshen rab yab kyi bka' rtsal pa/ | gshen rab yab kyi bka' rtsal pa/ | gshen yab gyi bka' rtsal% |
| nyon cig gshen za ne'u chung la/ | nyon cig gshen za ne'u chung ma/ | nyon 1 gshen za ne'u chung ma/ |
| snang ba dang mun pa bzhin/ | snang ba dang ni mun pa bzhin/ | snang ba dang ni mun pa 4n/ |
| 'brel med so sor snang 'gyur kyang/ | | 'brel med so sor snang gyur gyang% |
| 'brel bcas bdud ni sems las byung/ | 'brel bcas bdud ni sems la byung/ | 'brel bcas bdud ni sems las byung/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| sems la dge sdig gnyis mi sems/ | sems la dge sdig gnyis su mi sems/ | sems la dge sdig 2 mi sems/ |
| dge ba thar par bla med lam/ | dge ba'i thar pa bla med lam/ | dge ba thar pa bla med lam% |
| mi dge sdig to bdud kyi las// | mi dge sdig tog bdud kyi las/ | mi dge sdig to bdud gyi las% |
| rang gis rnam rtogs las la byung/ | rang gis rnam rtog las la 'byung/ | rang gi rnams rtog las la byung/ |
| rnam rtog chom nas bdud dang bral/ | rnam rtog choms na bdud dang bral/ | rnam rtog chom na bdud dang bral/ |
| de las rnam par rtogs bral bya/ | da bas rnam par rtog [f.47a] bral bya/ | de bas rnams par rtog bral bya/ |
| de la bdud rje kyab pa'i/ | de la bdud rje kyab pa yi/ | de la bdud rje kyab pa'i% |
| bdag grong khyer lang ling sku 'chag tshe/ | bdag grong khyer la ling sku 'chag tshe/ | bdag grong khyer la ling sku [f.42b] 'chag tshe% |
| ri dang chu dang me 'ob sprul/ | ri dang brag dang me'o sprul/ | ri dang chu dang me 'od sprul/ |
| bdag bzod pa bsgom pas ri dang chu/ | bdag bzod pa sgom pa ri dang chu/ | bdag bzod pa sgom pas ri dang chu% |
| me 'ob pad ma'i tshal du gyur/ | mi 'ong pad ma tshal tu 'gyur/ | me 'od pad ma'i tshul du gyur/ |
| gshen rab yab la bon nyan dus/ | gshen rab yab la bon nyan tu/ | gshen rab yab la bon nyan dus% |
| khyab pas yab kyi tshul bstan nas/ | khyab pa yab kyi tshul bstan nas/ | khyab pas yab gyi tshul bstan nas% |
| sras gcig gshen rab mi bo khyod/ | sras cig gshen rab mi bo khyod/ | sras 1 gshen rab mi po khyod/ |
| yab kyis bka' ngag tshig gsum nyon/ | yab kyi bka' dag tshig gsum nyon/ | yab kyi bka' ngag tshig 3 nyon% |
| rgyal bu rgyal srid skyong ba la/ | rgyal bu rgyal srid skyong ba la/ | rgyal bu rgyal srid bskyang ba la% |
| rgyal srid bon du ma bsgyur cig/ | rgyal srid bon tu ma sgyur cig/ | rgyal srid bon du ma sgyur 1/ |
| [97] bon bslu byed rdzun kyis tshig/ | bon ni bslu byed rdzun gyi tshe/ | bon ni slu byed rdzun gyi tshig% |
| yab myes gong mas 'di ma byas/ | yab myes gong ma 'di ma ma/ | yab myes gong ma 'di ma byas% |
| 'di ma byas pa la rgyal srid skyongs/ | 'di ma byas pa rgyal srid skyong/ | 'di ma byas pas rgyal srid skyangs/ |
| ces zer/ ston pas lan smras pa/ | ces zer ston pa'i lan smras pa/ | ces zer ston pas lan smras pa% |
| bdud rje khyab pa tshur nyon dang/ | bdud rje khyab pa tshul nyon dang/ | bdud rje khyab pa tshur gson dang% |
| nga ni thabs dang shes rab las/ | da ni thabs dang shes rab las/ | nga ni thabs dang shes rab las/ |

| skyes pa nga la yab gzhan med/ | skyes pa nga la yab gzhan med/ | skyes pas nga la yab gzhan med% |
|---|---|---|
| g.yung drung 'gyur med bon la ni// | g.yung drung 'gyur med bon la ni/ | g.yung drung 'gyur med bon la ni% |
| rdzun zhes zer mi khyod bes med/ | rdzun zhes zer mi khyod bas med/ | rdzun zhes zer mi khyod bes med/ |
| khyod rang la rang rdzun ma 'debs cig/ | khyod rang la rang rdzun ma 'deb cig/ | khyod rang la rang rdzun ma 'deb 1/ |
| ces byas/ bdud rje ldog nas song/ | ces byas bdud rje ldog gnas med song/ | ces byas bdud rje log nas song/ |
| gshen rab yum la me tog 'thor/ | gshen rab yum la me tog gtor/ | gshen rab yum la me tog gtor/ |
| khyab pa yab tu sprul nas byung/ | [f.47b] khyab pa yum du sprul nas byung/ | khyab pa yum du sprul nas byung/ |
| sras cig gshen rab lha'i bu/ | sras cig gshen rab lha'i bu/ | sras 1 gshen rab lha'i bu% |
| yum la bden tshig ci yod nyon/ | yum la bden tshig cig yod nyan/ | yum la bden tshig 1 yod nyon/ |
| yab rgyal bon 'khrul ba'i bon yang zin/ | yab rgyal po 'khrugs pa bon spangs zin/ | yab rgyal bon 'khrul pa'i bon [f.43a] spang zin% |
| yab rgyal bon 'khrul pa'i bon 'di spongs/ | khyod kyang 'khrul ba'i bon 'di spungs// | khyod gyang 'khrul pa'i bon 'di spong% |
| khra thog khyi khyes ri dag shor/ | khri thog khyim khyer ri dag shor/ | khra thog khyi khye ri dag shor/ |
| gzhon nu kun gyis las yin/ | gzhon nu kun gyi las yin ces/ | gzhon nu kun gyi las yin% |
| ces mi dge sdig la bskul ma btabs/ | mi dge sdig la skul ma btabs/ | mi dge sdig la skul ma btab/ |
| de la gshen rab [98] lan btab pa/ | de la gshen rab lan btab pa/ | de la gshen rab lan btab pa% |
| bdud phrug shor ba gzhon nyon/ | bdud phrug shor ba gzhon nu nyon/ | bdud phrug shor ba gzhon nu nyon% |
| sang 'khrul pa'i bon 'di gdod nas spang/ | ngas las 'khrul pa bon ni gdos nas spong/ | ngas 'khrul pa'i bon ni gdod nas spang% |
| ma 'khrul bden pa'i bon la spyod/ | mi 'khrul bden pa bon la spyod/ | ma 'khrul bden pa'i bon la spyod/ |
| g.yung drung mi 'gyur rgyal srid skyongs/ | g.yung drung ma 'gyur rgyal sras spyod/ | g.yung drung mi 'gyur rgyal srid skyong% |
| khri thog khyi 'gyed bdud kyis las/ | khri thob khyi 'gyed bdud kyi las/ | khra thog khyi 'gyed bdud gyi las% |
| ngan song 'khor ba'i bzhen rdeb (or dheb) yin/ | ngan song 'khor ba zhen 'debs yin/ | ngan song 'khor ba'i bzhen ‘deb yin% |
| khyod bdud phrug rang bdud rang la 'beb// | khyod bdud phrug rang bdud rang la 'deb/ | khyod bdud phrug rang bdud rang 'beb% |
| gshen rab bden pa'i don spyad pas/ | gshen rab bden pa'i don spyod pa/ | gshen rab bden pa'i bon spyad pas% |

| dge ldan sems la sdig mi 'gos// | dge ldan sems la sdig mi 'go/ | dge ldan sems la sdig mi mnga'i/ |
| --- | --- | --- |
| ces gsungs/ bdud phrug skyings nas song/ | ces gsung bdud phrug skyong nas skyor/ | ces gsung bdud phrug skying nas song% |
| gshen rab sgo bzhi mdzod 'chad dus/ | gshen rab sgo bzhi 'chad dus su/ | gshen rab sgo 4 mdzod 'chad dus% |
| khyab pa gsas chen ru bzhir sprul/ | khyab pa gsas chen ru bzhi sprul/ | khyab pa gsas chen ru 4r sprul% |
| kye ma ston pa gshen rab nyid/ | kye ma ston [f.48a] pa gshen rab nyon/ | kye ma ston pa gshen rab nyid% |
| nged gsas chen ru bzhi bya ba yin/ | nged kyi gsas chen ru bzhi bya ba'i/ | nged gsas chen ru 4 bya ba yin/ |
| nyi ma phyogs bzhi'i dpon gsas lags/ | nyi ma phyogs bzhi dpon gsas la/ | nyi ma phyog 4'i dpon gsas lag/ |
| gshen rab mi bo 'di ltar gyi/ | gshen rab mi bo 'di ltar gyi/ | gshen rab mi bo 'di ltar gyis% |
| bon ni 'dod pa dgu 'gyur lags/ | bon 'di 'dod pa dgu 'gyur la/ | bon ni 'dod pa dgu 'gyur lags% |
| go mtshon dmag gis dpung chos la/ | go mtshon dmag gi dpung chos la/ | go mtshon dmags [f.43b] gi dpung chos la% |
| nyi ma phyogs bzhir rgyal sde thul/ | nyi ma phyog bzhi rgyal te thul/ | nyi ma phyog 4r rgyal sde thul/ |
| gling bzhi'i [99] nor la rgyal gor gyis/ | gling bzhi nor la rgyal rkod kyi/ | gling 4 nor la rgyal gor gyis/ |
| ces smras/ gshen rab lan btab pas/ | ces smra gshen rab lan btab pas/ | ces smras gshen rab lan btab pa% |
| kye ma khyab pa lag ring po// | kye ma khyab pa lag ring po/ | kye ma khyab pa lag ring po% |
| gsas bzhi ma yin 'jig rten skyongs/ | gsas chen ru bzhi ma yin 'jig rten skyong/ | gsas 4 ma yin 'jig rten skyong/ |
| 'khor ba zo chu'i rgyun ltar 'khor/ | 'khor ba zo chu rgyun ltar 'khor/ | 'khor ba zo chu rgyun ltar 'khor/ |
| gshen rab mi ru ma 'gyur med/ | gshen rab ma rum 'gyur ba med/ | gshen rab pha dang ma ru gyur med/ |
| drin chen ma la sdang ba de/ | drin can ma la sdang ba de/ | drin can ma la sdang ba de% |
| bdud men gzhan la ga la yod/ | bdud med gzhan nag ga la yod/ | bdud med gzhan la ga la yod% |
| nga zhe sdong (sdang) spangs pas dmag dpon len/ | nga zhe sdang spang ba'i dmag mi med/ | nga zhe sdang spang pas dmag dpon men/ |
| 'dod chags spangs pas nor ming len/ | 'dod chags spang ba'i nor mi len/ | 'dod chag spang pas nor mi len% |
| nga rgyal spangs pa sde mi 'jom/ | nga rgyal spang ba'i spe (sde?) mi 'jom/ | nga rgyal spang pas sde ma 'jom% |
| rgyal sa sde bzhi rang gi rang gi sde/ | rgyal po sde bzhi rang gis snyed/ | rgyal po sde 4 rang gi … |

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| khyab pa rmongs pa'i bslu tshig za/ | khyab pa rmongs pa bslu tshig zad/ | khyab pa rmong pa'i bslu tshig zad% |
| ces gsung sras bzhi mnga' 'od chud/ | ces gsung sras bzhi mda' [f.48b] 'go chung/ | ces gsung sras 4 mda' 'og chud/ |
| gshen rab phya'i sku 'tsho tshe/ | gshen rab phya'i sku 'tshad tshe/ | gshen rab phya'i sku 'tsho tshe% |
| khyab pa lha'i bu 'dra sprul/ | khyab pa lha'i bu 'dra sprul/ | khyab pa lha'i bu 'drar sprul/ |
| btsun mo rnams la bslu tshig smras/ | btsun mo rnam la bslu tshig smras/ | btshun mo rnams la bslu tshig smras |
| gshen rab phya'i sku 'tsho tshe/ | gshen rab phye'i sku 'tshod tshe/ | gshen rab phya'i sku 'tsho tshe% |
| ngo phya'i bu mo gtsug mor blang/ | de phya'i bu mo btsun mo blang/ | nged phya'i bu mo btsun mor blang/ |
| de gto sgro dpyad sgro zhug la [100] srog/ | nga gto sgro dpyad sgro zhug las sreg/ | da gto sgrom dpyad sgrom zhug la srog% |
| du ba phya'i yul du 'gro/ | du ba'i phya'i yul tu 'gro/ | du ba phya'i yul du 'gro% |
| gshen rab mi bo 'dir dgong nges/ | gshen rab mi bo 'di rgongs nas/ | gshen rab mi bo 'dir dgongs nges/ |
| ces pas dpo' zang thang mo slongs bsgyur nas/ | ces smras dang (dpo) za thang mo blo 'gyur nas/ | ces pas dpo' za thang mo blo bsgyur nas% |
| gto sgro dpyad sgro zhugs la bsregs/ | gto sgro dpyad sgro zhug la bsregs/ | gto [f.44a] sgrom dpyad sgrom zhug la bsrag% |
| gto bu spyad bus spar do zin/ | gto bu dpyad bu spar 'od zer/ | gto bus dpyad bus spar do zin% |
| yi ge dpa'o 'bru lnga dang/ | yi ge dpa'o 'bru lnga dang/ | yi ge dpa'o 'bru lnga dang/ |
| gto'i byang bu sum brgya dang/ | gto'i dpyad bu sum brgya dang/ | gto'i byang bu sum brgya dang% |
| gto gyis byang bu dgu bkra zin/ | | gtod gyi byang bu dgu bkra zin% |
| gto spyad 'bum ste zhugs la song/ | gto spyod 'bum sde zhugs la song/ | gto spyad 'bum sde zhug la songo/ |
| dpa'o za thang mo khyab pas bslus/ | dpo' za thang mo khyab pas bslus/ | dpo' za thang mo khyab pas bslus% |
| bu ni bdud bu go bo chung/ | bu mo bdud bu go bo chung/ | bu ni bdud bu gong bu chung% |
| yul ni bra ma khri 'od dang// | yul ni phra mo khre 'od tu/ | yul ni pra mo khri 'od du% |
| sems can bsod nams sogs pa byung/ | sems can bsod nams bsog pa phud/ | sems can bsad nas sogs pa phyung% |
| mo ma sding nga sding lom smras/ | mo ma sde dang sding 'ong smras/ | mo ma sding nga sdig lom smras% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bslu ba'i bon gyis bslu byas ste/ | bslu ba bon gyi bslu byas ste/ | bslu ba'i bon gyi bslu byas te/ |
| snga dro gshen la me tog 'thor/ | snga dro gtor/ | snga dro gshen la me tog gtor/ |
| phyi dri ying brgab spu dri brgyad/ | phyi dro yang rgyag spu gri rgyag/ | phyi dro ying skab spu gri dri rgyab% |
| bslu ba'i bdud bu gong chung gum/ | bslu ba'i bdud bu go chung gum/ | bslu ba'i bdud bu go chung gum/ |
| dpa'o za de la mya ngan smre/ | dpo' za de la mya ngan [f.49a] smras/ | dpo za de la mye ngan smre |
| de la gshen rab kyis smras/ | de la gshen rab kyi smras pa/ | de la gshen rab gyi smras pa/ |
| dpo' za thang mo smre cig/ | dpo' thang mo ma smras cig/ | dpo za thang mo me smre 1/ |
| bu 'di bdud kyis bslu [101] ba'i bu/ | bu 'di bdud kyi bslu ba'i bu/ | bu 'di bdud gyi bslu ba'i bu% |
| la la srin kyis dmod pa'i bu/ | la la sras ni dmod pa bu/ | la la srin gyi bslu ba'i bu% |
| la la bgegs kyis bar chod bu/ | la la bgeg gyi bar chod bu/ | la la bgeg kyi bar chod bu% |
| la la lan chags snyags pa'i bu/ | la la lan chags rnyag pa'i bu/ | lan chags bsnyag pa'i bu% |
| lha'i thugs rje'i bu rka'o// | lha'i thugs rje bu dka'o/ | lha'i thugs rje'i bu rka'o% |
| ces gsungs/ dpo' zas dran ba rnyed// | ces gsungs dpo' za dran ba rnyed/ | ces gsung dpo zas dran pa rnyed/ |
| gshen ne'u chung khyab pas bslus/ | gshen za ne chung khyab pa bslus/ | gshen za ne'u chung khyab pas bslus% |
| bdud phrug stag bu thung dang gzigs bu thung/ | bdud phrug stag bu thung dang gzig bu thung/ | bdud phrug stag bu thung dang gzig bung% |
| sha la rngam zhing khrag la 'thung/ | sha la rngam shing khrag la 'thung/ | [f.44b] sha la rngam zhing khrag la 'thung/ |
| ne'u chung de la blo 'gyur nas/ | ne'u chung de la blo 'gyur nas/ | ne'u chung de la blo 'gyur nas% |
| nu ma bcad nas gzan du sgyur/ | nu ma bcad nas gzan du bskur/ | nu ma bcad nas gzan du bskyur/ |
| mo gling kho ma ne'u slob// | mo gling khod ma ne chung slus(?)/ | mo gling kho ma ne chung slob/ |
| lung 'dren rgyud 'dren dral dang mjal/ | lung 'dren rgyud 'dren dral dang mjal/ | lung 'dren rgyud 'dren dral dang mjal/ |
| sras su yum gshen rab dga' spro skyes/ | sras yum gshen rab dga' spro skyes/ | sras yum gshen rab rga spro skyes% |
| de nas khyab pa lag ring gyis/ | de nas khyab pa lag ring gyis/ | de nas khyab pa lag ring kyi% |
| gshen rab dkor la cho 'phrul bstan/ | gshen rab rkong la cho 'phrul bstan/ | gshen rab gor la cho 'phrul bstan/ |

| bdud phrug shar ba rkya bdun gyis/ | bdud phrug shar ba rkya bdun kyi/ | bdud phrug shor ba rkya bdun gyi/ |
|---|---|---|
| gshen rab rta bdun khyer nas song/ | gshen rab rta bdun khyer nas song/ | gshen rab rta bdun khyer nas song/ |
| rkong po yul du rta rjes bstan/ | rkong po yul du rta rjes bstan/ | rkong po yul du rta rjes bstan% |
| kha ba sub mas rta rjes bcad/ | kha ba [f.49b] sub mas rta rjes bcad/ | kha ba sub mas rta rjes bcad% |
| nyi ma dgu shar kha ba bzhus/ | nyi ma dgu shar kha ba zhus/ | nyi ma dgu shar kha ba bzhus% |
| [102] bdud ri nag po bon rir bsgyur/ | bdud ri nag po ri rab bsgyur/ | bdud ri nag po bon rir bsgyur/ |
| la dor brag 'phrang rta lam gtod/ | la ngor brag 'phrang rta la gton/ | la dor brag 'phrang rta lam gtod% |
| lcag phub dgu phud brag ris phugs/ | lcag phur brag ri phul/ | lcag phub rgu phug brag ri phug% |
| mda' drangs chu mig dkar po'i mkhar sgor slebs/ | mda' drang chu myig dkar po drangs/ | mda' drang chu mig dkar po drang/ |
| | rkang rje dkar po ye mkhar skye/ | rkong rje dkar po’i mkhar sgor sleb/ |
| brag 'brang chu dor mda' lam btod/ | brag 'phrang chu ngor mda' lam bton/ | brag 'phrang chu dor mda' lam btod/ |
| rta brkus le lon rkong rje yis/ | rta rku la las rkang rje yi/ | rta brkus le lan rkong rje yis% |
| rkang za khri lcam gshen la phul/ | rkang za khri lcam gshen la phud/ | rkong za khri lcam gshen la phul% |
| shul lam yar chab rtsang po phyung// | shu lam yar char rtsang po phul/ | shu lam yar chab rtsang po la phyung% |
| lha ri gyang dor zhal bdun bzhugs// | lha ri gyang tor zhag bdun bzhugs/ | lha ri gyang tor zhag bdun bzhug/ |
| shul dkar rtsang bya g.yung drung khar/ | shul gar rtsa byed g.yung drung khar/ | shul kar rtsang bye ma g.yung drung khar |
| ston pa'i zhabs rjes btod/ | ston pa zhabs rje gtos/ | ston pa'i [f.45a] zhab rjes btod% |
| khyung lung rngul mkhar brtsigs/ | khyung lung dngul mkhar rtseg/ | khyung lung rngul mkhar brtsig% |
| gshen bu rkong tsha de ru 'khrungs/ | gshen bu rkang tsha de ru 'khrungs/ | gshen bu rkong tsha de ru 'khrung/ |
| de nas ma pang mtsho la chags/ | de nas ma pang g.yu mtsho la chags/ | de nas ma pang mtsho la chag% |
| klu'i ston pa lo cig mdzad/ | klu'i ston pa len cig mdzad/ | klu'i ston pa lo 1 mdzad/ |
| ti tse gang gi rtse mo ru/ | di tse gangs kyi rtse mo ru/ | ti tse gang kyi rtse mo ru/ |
| ma sangs lha'i zhal dro drangs/ | ma sangs lha'i zhal drong/ | ma pang lha'i zhal dro drang/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| de nas slar yang 'ol mo gling/ | de nas slar yang 'ol mos gling/ | de nas slar yang 'ol mo gling/ |
| khri smon lam rgyal bzher dag tu byon/ | khri smon rgyal bzhad dag tu byon/ | khri smon rgyal bzhad dag tu byon/ |
| ston pas khyim spangs rab tu byung/ | ston pa khyim spang rab tu byung/ | ston pas khyim spang rab tu byung% |
| | de tse [f.50a] gong kyi rtse mo ru/ | |
| | ma sangs lha'i zhal drong/ | |
| | de nas slar yang 'ol gling/ | |
| | khri smon rgyal bzhad dag tu byon/ | |
| | ston pa khyim sdang rab tu byung/ | |
| de tse khyab pas 'di [103] skal du/ | de tse khyab pa 'di snyam du/ | de tse khyab pas 'di snyams du% |
| gshen rab mi bo 'khrul de song/ | gshen rab mi bo 'khrul te song/ | gshen rab mi po 'khrul de song/ |
| rgyal srid nor dang chung ma dang/ | rgyal srid nor dang chung ma dang/ | rgyal srid nor dang chung ma dang/ |
| bu dang bu mo 'khor yang ste/ | bu dang bu mo 'khor spongs te/ | bu dang bu mo 'khor spang te% |
| cig pur 'khyam pa re rga snyams/ | cig pa 'khyam pa dga' ba snyom/ | cig pur 'khyam pa re rga snyam/ |
| 'on kyang de ru sun 'byungs phyir/ | 'on kyang da rung sun byung phyir/ | 'on gyang da rung sun dbyung phyir/ |
| bdud kyi bu mo drug po ni/ | bdud kyi bu mo drug po ni/ | bdud gyi bu mo drug po ni% |
| mdzes pa'i rgyan cha mang pos brgyan/ | mdzes pa rgyan chas mang po brgyan/ | mdzes pa'i rgyan cha mang pos brgyan% |
| ston pa'i mdun du 'ong nas ni// | ston pa mdun du 'ong nas ni/ | ston pa'i mdun du 'ong nas ni% |
| klu len gar byed bzhin mdzes bstan/ | glu len gar byed bzhin mdzes bstan/ | glu len gar byed bzhin mdzes bstan/ |
| nged drug lha'i bu mo dga' mdzes/ | de drug lha'i bu mo dga' mdzes ma/ | nged drug lha'i bu mo dga' mdzes ma/ |
| me tog kha phye pad ma mdzes pa la/ | me tog kha phyes pad ma mdzes pa/ | me tog kha phye pad ma mdzes pa la/ |
| chags shings spyad dga' phun sum 'tshogs/ | chags shing spyad(?) na dga' spyin phun sum tshogs/ | chag shing spyod na dga' skyid phun 3 'tshog/ |
| gtan gyis drogs su bgyis kyang nyes pa med/ | gtan gyi grogs su bgyis kyang nyes pa med/ | gtan gyi grogs su brgyis gyang nyes pa med/ |
| tshul khrims gtsang ma'i gos 'di spang la/ | tshul khrims gtsang ma gos 'di spong la/ | [f.45b] tshul khrims gtsang ma'i gos 'di da |

| | | spong la/ |
|---|---|---|
| na bza' mdzes dgu sku la gsol yang mdzod/ | na bza' mdzes dgu sku la gsol yang mdzod/ | nab bza' mdzes dgu sku la gsol yang mdzod/ |
| byang chub spyod pa'i blo ni yang sgyur la/ | byang chub spyod pa blo ni yang bsgyur/ | byang chub spyod pa'i blo ni yongs sgyur la% |
| dgyes shing rol pa mdzod cig skyes bu mchog/ | dgyes shing rol pa mdzod shing skyes bu mchog/ | dgyes shing rol pa mdzod 1 skyes bu mchog/ |
| ces smras// // ston pas len gsungs pa// | ces smras ston pas lan gsungs pa/ | ces smras ston pas lan gsung pa% |
| lha'i bu mo gzhan kyis pad [104] ma de/ | lha'i [f.50b] bu mo bzhin gyi pad ma de/ | lha'i bu mo 4n gyi pad ma de% |
| ngan skug mi gtsang snod stong gis mi chag/ | ngan skyug mi gtsang snod ste nga mi chags/ | ngan skyug mi gtsang snod ste nga myi chag% |
| ma rgan brgya cu mo pa'i rgan mo rnams/ | ma rgan brgya bcu lon pa rgan mo rnams/ | ma rgan brgya chu lon pa'i rgan mo rnams/ |
| 'dod pa'i 'dod chag ngan pa spyad cing 'dod/ | 'dod pa 'dod chags ngan pa spyod cing 'dod/ | 'dod pa'i 'dod chags ngan pa spyad cing 'dod% |
| de'i gnyen po mi bsdug bsam gtan bzang/ | de'i gnyen po mi sdug bsam gtan bzod/ | de'i gnyen po mi sdug bsam bzang/ |
| rngo can nad ni phrug cing phyir phyir za/ | rngo can nad ni phrug shing phyir phyir za/ | rngo can nad ni phrug cing phyir phyir za% |
| ma phrug bzhan na de la za ba med/ | ma phrug bzhag na de la za ba med/ | ma phrug bzhag na de la za ba med/ |
| lan tsha'i chu 'thung 'thung zhing phyir phyir skom/ | lan tsha chu 'thung thung phyir phyir skom/ | lan tsha'i chu 'thung 'thung shing phyir phyir skom/ |
| 'dod pa'i yon tan sgyu ma de la nga mi chags/ | 'dod pa yon tan sgyu ma de la da mi chags/ | 'dod pa'i yon tan de la nga mi chag/ |
| cho 'phrul bslu ba sems su ngo shes chags pa med/ | cho 'phrul bslu ba sems su ngo shes chags med/ | cho 'phrul bslu ba sems su ngo shes chags pa med% |
| se gol brdab tsam gis bu mo drug ni mi sdug | ces gsungs gol gtog tsam gyi/ | ces gsung se gol gtog tsam gyi/ |
| rgan mo drug du red/ | bu mo drug ni sdug rgan mo drug du ri/ | bu mo drug ni mi bsdug rgan mo drug du red/ |
| de nas rgan mo drug gis ston pa la bstod pa// | de nas rgan mo drug gi ston pa ston pa/ | de nas rgan mo drug gi ston pa la bstod pa% |
| e ma ngo mtshar ston pa rab tu byung// | ston pa ngo mtshar ston pa rab tu byung/ | e ma ngo mtshar ston pa rab tu byung/ |
| rgyal srid khyim la chags pa med/ | rgyal srid khyim la chags pa med/ | rgyal srid [f.46a] khyim la chags pa med/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| khyed ni chags ched sgyu ma lta bur gzigs/ | khyed ni chag med sgyu ma lta bu gzigs/ | khyod ni chag med sgyu ma lta bur gzig/ |
| chu'i pad ma lta bu gnas pa la/ | chu yi pad ma lta bu gnas pa la/ | chu'i pad ma lta bur gnas pa la% |
| bslu ba'i tshul gyi ngo tsha khrel rjod pas/ | bslu ba'i tshul gyi ngo tsha khri'u brjod pa/ | bslu ba'i tshul gyi ngo tsha khrel brjod pas/ |
| bka' chad 'phral la byung ste/ | bka' chad 'phrad 'byung ste/ | bka' chad 'phral la byung ste rgas shing 'khob par gyur/ |
| rgas shing 'khob par gyur/ | dga'(?) shing 'khon pa 'gyur/ | |
| ston mchog sku la bzod gsol gnong cing bshags/ | ston mchog sku la bzad gsol gnong zhing bshags/ | ston mchog sku la bzod gsol gnong cing bshag% |
| ston mchog [105] thugs ni nam mkha' lta bu ste/ | ston mchog thugs ni nam mkha' lta bu ste/ | ston mchog thugs ni nam mkha' lta bu te% |
| chu'i pad ma bzhin du dri med dag/ | chu'i pad ma bzhin du ming bdag/ | chu'i pad ma bzhin du dri med dag% |
| gshen rab mi bo mtshan dang dpe byad 'bar/ | gshen rab mi bo mtshan dang dpe byed 'bar/ | gshen rab mi po mtshan dang dpe byad 'bar/ |
| yon tan mchog ldan khyod la phyag 'tshal stod/ | yon tan mchog ldan khyod la phyag 'tshal lo/ | yon tan mchog ldan khyed la phyag 'tshal lo% |
| bdag la thugs rjes bzung na sdug la skyabs par zhu/ ces zhus// | [f.51a] bdag la thugs rjes gzung la sdug bsngal skyabs pa zhus/ | bdag la thugs rjes zung la sdug bsngal skyab par zhu/ |
| bu mo drug 'gyur me tog mngon par gtor/ | ces zhus bu mo drug 'gyur me tog mngon par gtor/ | ces zhus bu mo drug gyur me tog mngon par gtor/ |
| bdud kyi bu mo drug rab byung ste/ | bdud gyi bu mo drug kyang rab du byung ste/ | bdud gyi bu mo drug rab byung ste/ |
| mo gling kho ma ne'u chung gnas su bkod/ | mo gling kho ma ne'u chung gnas su bkod/ | mo gling kho ma’i ne'u chung gnas su bkod/ |
| shar ba rkya bdun rab byungs pho glings bkod/ | | shar ba rkya bdun rab byung pho gling bkod% |
| der khyab pa sdug bsngal khang par zhugs/ | der khyab pa sdug bsngal mya ngan phab par zhus/ | der khyab pa sdug sngal khang par zhugs/ |

| rgyal bon thod dkar bu cig gshen rab 'di/ | rgyal bon thod dkar bu cig gshen rab 'di dang bkod/ | rgyal bon thod dkar bu 1 gshen rab 'di% |
|---|---|---|
| ci kyang ma thub 'dud 'khor zad ma thugs/ | ces kyang ma thub bdud 'khor zad la thug/ | cis kyang ma thub bdud 'khor zad la khad/ |
| da ni myes la bzlog la bdud dmags bsdus bsnyam dran/ | da ni mi la zlog la bdud dmag bsdu snyams dran/ | da ni myes la bzlog la bdud dmag bsdu [f.46b] bsnyam dran% |
| khyab pa dga' rab dbang phyug drung du phyin nas/ | khyab pa rga rab dbang phyug drung phyir nas/ | khyab pa rga rab dbang phyug drung du phyin nas/ |
| myes cig dga' rab dbang phyugs gson/ | mi cig rga rab dbang phyug na/ | myes 1 rga rab dbang phyug gson% |
| rgyal bon thod dkar bu cig gshen rab 'di/ | rgyal srid thod kar bu cig gshen rab ni/ | rgyal bon thod dkar bu 1 gshen rab 'di/ |
| cis kyang ma thub bdud 'khor zad la thugs/ | ces kyang ma thub bdun 'khor zad la thug/ | cis kyang ma thub bdud 'khor zad la thug% |
| gshen rab [106] mngon par rdzogs sangs rgyas nas/ | gshen rab mngon par sangs rgyas na/ | gshen rab mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas na% |
| yo skol bdud kyi 'jig rten stong par nges/ | yab skor bdud 'jig rten stong pa de/ | yo skol bdud gyi 'jig rten stong par nges/ |
| 'di la da re gnag phyir bdud kyi dmags drang dgos/ | 'di la da ring gnag phyir bdud kyi dmag drongs dgos/ | 'di la da res gnag phyir bdud gyi dmag drang dgos% |
| ces pas dga' rab dbang phyug gi/ | ces pa rga rab dbang phyug gi/ | ces pas rga rab dbang phyug gis% |
| khyab pa// gshen rab bden pa thug dga' ste// | khyab pas gshen rab bden pa thub rka ste/ | khyab pa gshen rab bden pa thub rka ste% |
| rka yang lha'i bu'i bdud/ dmag ni bye ba sa ya sdus/ | rka yang lha'i bu'i bdud dang dmag ni bye ba sa ya bsdus/ | rka yang lha'i bu'i bdud% dmag ni bye ba sa ya bsdus/ |
| bdud kyi 'khrul 'khor sgyog chen chos/ | bdud kyi 'khrul 'khor skyong chen chos/ | bdud gyi 'khrul 'khor sgyog chen chos% |
| ces zer khyab pas lung thob nas/ | ces zer khyab pa lung thob nas/ | ces zer khyab pas lung thob nas% |
| bdud dmags bye ba sa ya sdus/ | bdud dmag bye ba sa ya sdus/ | bdud dmag bye ba sa ya bsdus% |
| mtshon cha mda' mdung ral gri dang 'khor lo sgyog chen gzu ba bcas/ | mtshon cha mda' mdung ral gri dang/<br>'khor lo skyong chen gzu ba can/ | mtshon cha mda' mdung ral dri dang%<br>'khor lo sgyog chen gzu ba bcas/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bar po so brgyad mkhar la drang/ | bar po so brgyad [f.51b] mkhar la drang/ | bar po so brgyad mkhar la drangs/ |
| de tshe ston pa gshen rab nyid/ | de tshe ston pa gshen rab nyid/ | de tshe ston pa gshen rab nyid% |
| byams pa lha'i ting nge 'dzin/ | byams pa lha'i ting nge 'dzin/ | byams pa lha'i ting nge 'dzin% |
| stong nyid mi g.yo ting 'dzin bsgom/ | stong nyid mi g.yo' ting 'dzin sgom/ | stong nyid mi g.yo’ ting 'dzin sgom/ |
| bdud kyi mda' 'phang me tog gyur/ | bdud kyang mda' 'phangs me tog gyi/ | bdud gyi mda' 'phang me tog gyur/ |
| rdo rnams rin chen char du bab/ | rdo rnams rin chen char du bab/ | rdo rnams rin chen char du bab% |
| sgyog ni 'od kyi 'khor lo gyur/ | sgyong na 'od gyi 'khor lo gyur/ | sgyog ni 'od gyi 'khor lo gyur% |
| mtshon cha lha'i rol mo gyur/ | mtshon cha lha'i rol mo gyur/ | mtshon cha lha'i rol [f.47a] mor song/ |
| bdud sems byams pa'i ngang du bsgyur/ | bdud sems byams pa ngang du bsgyur/ | bdud sems byams pa'i ngang du bsgyur% |
| de tshe za byed bdud bzhi'i/ | de tshe za byed bdud bzhi ni/ | de tshe za byed bdud 4'i% |
| seng [107] ge glang chen chu srin 'brug gi mgo/ | sing ge glang chen chu srin 'brug gi gho/ | sing ghe glang chen chu srin 'brug gi mgo% |
| zhal gdangs bar po so brgyad phyogs bzhir bskor/ | zhal gdong bar po so brgyad phyog bzhi bskor/ | zhal gdangs bar po so brgyad phyog 4r bskor% |
| klu 'brug stong ldir bdud dmags kus btab ste/ | klu'i 'brug stong ldir/ bdud dmag kun btab ste/ | klu 'brug stong ldir bdud dmag kus btab ste/ |
| de tshe khro chen ru bzhi'i/ bar po so brgyad rtse mo nas/ | de tshe khro chen rus bzhi/ bar po so brgyad rtse nas/ | de tshe khro chen ru 4 bar po so brgyad rtse mo nas% |
| ston pa bdud la rgyal zhes bswo sgra btab/ | ston pa bdud ngal rgyal zhing bswo sgra btab/ | ston pa bdud la rgyal zhes bso sgras btab/ |
| a par thum mu par zhi kri la ge god spung dri par myal myal// | a par zhi mu par zhi kra leg khod spong/ tri phar dmyal dmyal/ | a par thum mu par zhi% kri le ge kod spungs% dri par myal myal% |
| zhes brjod bdud dmags rnams spa bskong brgyal// | ces brjod bdud rnams spo skong rgyal/ | ces brjod bdud rnams spa skongs brgyal% |

| brgyal sangs bdud dmags bye ba gyes/ | brgyal song bdud dmag bye ba 'gyigs/ | brgyal sangs bdud dmag bye ba gyes% |
|---|---|---|
| de nas ston pa gshen rab kyis/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab kyi/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab gyis% |
| dug lnga 'dul ba'i snying po brjod/ | dug lnga 'dul ba'i snying po brjod/ | dug lnga 'dul ba'i snying po brjod/ |
| a dun 'dus mu rum spros kha til zhi/ | a bdun 'dus mu med sprod sa ting zhi/ | a dun 'du mu ram spros% kha til zhi% |
| ces gsungs bdud kyi dug lnga zhi/ | [f.52a] ces gsung bdud kyi dug lnga zhi/ | ces gsung bdud gyi dug lnga zhi/ |
| rgya lag thams cad rje 'bangs su byung/ | rgyal lag thog rje bab su byung/ | rgya lags thod rje 'bangs su byung% |
| rab tu byung ste pho gling bkod/ | rab tu phyung te pho gling bkod/ | rab tu byung ste pho gling bkod% |
| khyab pa cig su mya ngan khang par song/ | khyab pa cig bu mya ngan khang pa zhud/ | khyab pa cig bu mye ngan khang par song% |
| gzhan yang ston pa gshen rab la/ | gzhan yang ston pa gshen rab lags/ | gzhan yang ston pa gshen rab la% |
| ma brtag pa'i dgra bzhi byung/ | mi rtag pa yang dgra bzhi phyung/ | ma brtag pa'i dgra 4 byung% |
| pha spun ma brtag gnya' non dgra/ | pha spun ma brtag gnyan nor dgra/ | pha spun ma brtag gnya non dgra/ |
| bdud rje khyab pa gnya' [108] non dgra/ | | bdud rje khyab pa gnya non dgra |
| gshen rab chus dang srid la rgol/ | gshen rab chu dang srin la rgol/ | [f.47b] gshen rab chus dang srid la rgol/ |
| der ston pas bka'i bya ra mngag/ | der ston pa bka'i bya ra mngag/ | der ston pas bka'i bya ra mngag% |
| srid pa'i rgyal mo thugs 'khros pas/ | srid pa rgyal mo thugs 'khros pa/ | srid pa'i rgyal mos thugs 'khros pas/ |
| bdud rje khyab pa nag po bsgral/ | bdud rje nag po bsgral/ | bdud rje khyab pa nag po bsgral% |
| bstan bsrung srid pa rgyal mo byas/ | bstan srung srid pa rgyal mo byas/ | bstan srung srid pa’i rgyal mos byas% |
| | bdud rje nag po bsgral/ | |
| | bstan bsrung rgyal po byas/ | |
| bstan pa bon gyis sgo bzhi bsrungs/ | bstan pa bon yis sgo bzhin bsrungs/ | bstan pa bon gyi sgo 4 bsrung/ |
| chu ma ma brtags srid kyis dgra/ | chung ma ma rtags srid kyis dgra/ | chung ma ma brtag srid gyi dgra% |
| rkong lcam dkor mo srid kyi dgra/ | rkang lcam dkar mo srid pa'i dgra/ | rkong lcam dkar mo srid gyis dgra% |
| rgya'i ge mo'i zla la song// | rgya'i gen po zla la | rgya'i gen po zla la song/ |
| ston pas pho nya dmu btsan mngag/ | ston pa pho nya dmu btsun mngag/ | ston pas pho nya dmu btsan mngad% |

<table>
<tr>
<td>rgya rje ring bdun yab ste sgral/<br>slo bu ma brtags bcud kyi dgra/<br>gnyen the'u nag po bcud kyi dgra/<br>ston pa'i rtsis sgro smon sgro brkus/<br>sa 'og dgu'i zhabs su khyer/<br>ston pas sgra bla'i rgyal mo mag/<br>sgra bla'i rgyal mo 'khros pa'i/<br>gnyen the'u nag po bsgral bar byas/<br>yid kyis khyes chung sprul pa'i yis/<br>sa 'og dgu nas rtsis gro sman sgro lon/<br>grog po ma brtags lam gyis dgra/<br>[109] hor khrug shor ba rta bdun gyis/<br>ston pa'i rta bdun khyer nas song/<br>pho nyar gas btsan rgyal po mngag/<br>ne wer rgyal po thugs 'khros pas/<br>hor gyi ya ba rkya bdun bsgral/<br>de la ni bstan pa'i bka' bsrung bzhi/<br>g.yung drung bon sgo bzhi bsrungs ngo/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las/ ston pa la bdud kyi cho 'phrul bstan pa/ btul pa'i le'u ste bcu gnyis pa'o// //</td>
<td>rgya rje rang bdud phab te sgral/<br>slo bu rtag bcud kyi dgra/<br>gnyer the'u nag po bdud kyi dgra/<br>ston pa rtsi sgron sman sgro rku/<br>sa 'og dgu'i zhabs su khyer/<br>ston pa sgra bla lcam mo mngag/<br>sgra bla rgyal po khris pa'o/<br>gnyen the nag po bsgral bar byas/<br>yid kyi khye'u chung sprul pa yi/<br>sa 'og rgu nas rtsi sgro sman sgro lon/<br>grogs po ma rtag lam gyis dgra/<br>[f.52b] hor phrug shar ba rkya bdun khyer nas sad/<br>pho nyar gar gsas btsan po rgyal po mngag/<br>ni wer rgyal po thugs 'khros pa/<br>hor gyi yan lag rkya bdun bsgral/<br>de ni ston pa bka' srung bzhi/<br>g.yung drung bon sgo srung ngo/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo 'dus pa rin po chen rgyud las/ ston pa bdud kyi cho 'phrul stan pa 'dus ba'i le'u ste/ bcu gnyis pa 'o/</td>
<td>rgya rje ring bdud phab ste bsgral%<br>slob bu ma brtag bcud gyi dgra%<br>gnyan the'u nag po bcud kyi dgra%<br>ston pa'i rtsi sgro sman sgro brkus%<br>sa 'og dgu'i zhab du khyer/<br>ston pas sgra bla'i rgyal mo mngad%<br>sgra bla'i rgyal mo 'khros pa'i%<br>gnyan the'u nag po bsgral bar byas/<br>yid gyi khye’u chung sprul pa'i%<br>sa 'og dgu’i nas rtsi sgro sman sgro lon%<br>grog po ma brtag lam gyis dgra%<br>hor phrug shor ba rkya bdun gyi%<br>ston pa'i rta bdun khyer nas song%<br>pho nya [f.48a] gas btsan rgyal po mngag%<br>ne wer rgyal po thugs 'khros pas/<br>hor gyi ya ba rkya bdun bsgral/<br>de ni bstan pa'i bka' srung 4%<br>g.yung drung bon sgo 4 srung ngo/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las% ston pa la bdud gyi cho 'phrul bstan pa rtug pa'i le'u ste bcu 2 pa'o// 卍 //</td>
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| *mDo 'dus* (Chapter xiii) | | |
|---|---|---|
| [p.109] | [f.52b] | [f.48a] |
| de nas ston pa gshen rab la/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab la | de nas ston pa gshen rab la% |
| rma lo g.yu los nges zhus pa/ | rma lo g.yu los song ba/ | rma lo g.yu los nges zhus pa/ |
| e ma gshen rab rmad 'byung gtso/ | e ma gshen rab rmad 'byung gtso/ | e ma ston pa rmad 'byung gtso'% |
| drang srong chen po bslab rdzogs shog/ | drang srong chen po slab rdzogs shing/ | drang srong chen po slab rdzog shing% |
| rgyud drug 'dul ba kun mkhyen pa/ | rgyu drug 'dul ba kun mkhyen ste/ | rgyud drug 'dul ba kun mkhyen ba/ |
| sras kyi yab la la mngon par bstod/ | sras kyi yab kyi mngon pa ston/ | sras kyi yab la mngon par bstod/ |
| ston pa gshen rab rmad byung ba/ | ston pa gshen rab rmad byung ba/ | ston pa gshen rab rmad byung pa% |
| ci ltar khyim spang sdom ba blangs/ | cir ltar khyim spung sdom pa blang/ | ci tar khyim spang sdom pa blang/ |
| 'dus pa'i 'khor rnams bshad du gsol/ | 'dus pa'i 'khor la bshad du gsol/ | 'dus pa'i 'khor la bshad du gsol/ |
| [110] ces zhus// ston pas bka' rtsal pas// | ces zhus ston pa bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa% |
| kye ma 'dus pa'i 'khor rnams/ | kye ma 'dus pa 'khor kun nyon/ | kye ma 'dus pa'i 'khor kun nyon/ |
| nga nyid ston pa bla na med/ | nga ni ston pa bla na med/ | nga nyid ston pa bla na med/ |
| thog ma'i sems bskyed thob dus nas/ | thog ma sems [f.53a] bskyed thob dus nas/ | thog ma'i sem bskyed thob dus nas% |
| rgyud drug 'dul ba rab tu sbyongs/ | rgyun drug 'dul ba'i bar du spyod/ | rgyud drug 'dul ba rab du sbyang/ |
| des 'byung leg smon 'jigs skyob gyis/ | nges 'byung la… smon 'jig skyong kyi/ | nges 'byung legs smon 'jig skyob kyi/ |
| bcas pa'i sdom pa gzhi rtsa bcad/ | bcas pa'i sdoms pa bzhi rtsa bcas/ | [f.48b] bcas pa'i gzhi rtsa bcad/ |
| rang bzhin dge ba'i sdom dang ldan/ | rang bzhin dge ba sngon dang ldan/ | rang 4n dge ba'i sdom dang ldan/ |
| gdod nas khyim spang rab tu byung/ | gdod nas khyim spangs rab tu byung/ | gdod nas khyim spang rab tu byung% |
| 'khor ba'i sa la mi gnas de/ | 'khor ba'i sa la mi gnas te/ | 'khor ba'i sa la mi gnas te/ |
| gang la gang 'dul cir yang sprul/ | gang la gang 'dul cir yang sprul/ | gang la gang 'dul cir yang sprul% |
| sprul sku ston pa gshen rab mi bor grag/ | sprul sku gshen rab mi bo grogs/ | sprul sku ston pa gshen rab mi bor grag% |
| rgyal srid 'khor dang khyims thab dang/ | rgyal srid 'khor dang khyim drug dang/ | rgyal srid 'khor dang khyim thabs dang% |

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| sras dang longs spyod sbyin par btang/ | sras dang long spyod sbyin pa btang/ | sras dang longs spyod sbyin par btang% |
| chags med pa la gshen rab gnas/ | chags med pa la gshen rab gnas/ | chag med pa la gshen rab gnas% |
| ston pas dgung lo sum bcu rtsa cig la/ | ston pa dgung lo sum bcu so gcig la/ | ston pas rgung lo sum bcu rtsa 1 la% |
| khyim spangs rab tu byungs ba ste/ | khyim spongs rab tu byung ba ste/ | khyim spang rab tu byung pa ste% |
| khri smon rgyal bzhed sgo bzhir byung/ | khri smon rgyal bzhad sgo bzhi byung/ | khri smon rgyal bzhad sgo 4r byung% |
| skye rgas na 'chi bzhi la gzigs/ | skye rgas na 'chi bzhi la gzigs/ | skyes rgas na 'chi 4 la gzig% |
| chu bo bzhi la rgal ba'i phyir/ | chu bo bzhi la dga' ba'i phyir/ | chu'o 4 la brgal ba'i phyir% |
| [111] sgyu ma lta bu'i ting 'dzin gyis/ | sgyu ma lta bu ting 'dzin gyi/ | sgyu ma lta bu ting 'dzin gyi% |
| rgyal srid ma lus gtan nas spangs nas/ | rgyal srid ma lus gtan spong nas/ | rgyal srid ma lus gtan spang nas% |
| khyim spangs rab tu byung ba dgongs/ | khyim spong rab tu byung ba dgongs/ | khyim spang rab tu byung par dgos% |
| btsun mo sras dang 'khor 'bar gyis/ | btsun mo sras dang 'khor 'bang gis/ | btsun mo sras dang 'khor 'bang kyi% |
| shol btabs kun gyis bsrung gyur kyang/ | shol btab kun [f.53b] gyi sprod gyur kyang/ | shol btab gun gyi bsrung 'gyur gyang% |
| gshen rab dung rta dkar po bcibs/ | gshen rab … dung rta dkar po bcibs/ | gshen rab dung rta dkar po bcib/ |
| gshen 'bang gus pas kha khrid de// | gshen rab gus pa kha khri dang/ | gshen 'bang gus pas kha khrid de/ |
| gsas chen ru bzhis rmig bzhi btegs/ | gsas chen ru bzhi rmi gzhi brtag/ | gsas chen ru 4s rmig 4 bteg/ |
| rka thub gling la gshegs cing du/ | rka thub gling la gshegs cing tu/ | rka thub gling la gsheg cing du% |
| sdug bsngal chu bo bzhi la brgal ba'i shul ka ru/ | sdug bsngal chu bo bzhi la rgal ba shul ka ru/ | sdug bsngal chu'o 4 la rgal pa'i shul kha ru/ |
| drang srongs tshul ldan cig dang 'phrad 'gyur te/ | drang srong tshul ldan gcig dang 'phrad pa 'gyur te/ | drang srungs [f.49a] tshul ldan 1 dang phrad gyur ste% |
| de la rjes su yid rang skyes te zhus pa ni/ | de la rjes su yid rang skyes te zhus pa ni/ | de la rjes su yi rang skyes ste zhus pa ni/ |
| khyed ni drang srong tshul khrims ldan pa'i brjid/ | khyod ni drang srong tshul khrims ldan te brjid/ | khyed ni drang song tshul khrims ldan te brjid% |
| seng ge gang la 'gying 'dra drang la brdan/ | sdig? gangs la ga 'dra drang la bstan/ | sing ge gang la 'gying 'dra drang la brtan% |

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| khyed ni rang bzhin gzhan la phan te bsod/ | khyed ni rang bzhin gzhan la phan te bsogs/ | khyed ni rang bzhin gzhan la phan te bsod% |
| ngo mtshar rmad 'byung rin chen ri bo 'dra/ | ngo mtshar rmad 'byung rin chen ri bo 'dra/ | ngo mtshar rmad byung rin chen ri'o 'dra% |
| bdag kyang khyim spangs rab tu byung bar gnang lags sam/ | bdag kyang khyim spongs rab tu byung ba gnad la sems/ | bdag kyang khyim spang rab tu byung bar gnang lags sam/ |
| ces gsungs/ drang srong de'i zhal nas kyang/ | zhes zhus drang srong de'i zhal nas kyang/ | ces gsung drang srong de'i zhal nas gyang/ |
| [112] nga ni drang srog legs ldan rgyal ba ste/ | de ni drang srong legs ldan rgyal ba ste/ | nga ni drang srong leg ldan rgyal ba te/ |
| ston pa gto rgyal ye mkhyen slob bu yin/ | ston pa gto' rgyal ye mkhyen slob bu'i/ | ston pa gto rgyal ye mkhyen slob bu yin% |
| ston pa khyim spang rab tu byung bas shin tu leg/ | ston pa khyim spongs rab tu byung ba shin tu legs/ | ston pa khyim spang rab tu byung pa shin tu leg% |
| sngon 'byung ston pa rnams kyang khyim spangs rab tu byung/ | sngon 'byung ston pa rnams kyang/ khyim spong rab tu byung/ | sngon 'byung ston pa rnams kyang khyim spang rab tu byung% |
| rmad gos bla med bcas pa'i sdom pa srungs/ | rmad gos bla med bcas pa ston pa srung/ | rmad gos bla med bcas pa'i sdom pa srung% |
| rka spyad bdud lnga dgra la rgyal ba e ma ho// | rka spyod? bdud dang spyod grangs las rgyal ba e ma ho/ | rka spyad bdud lnga'i dgra la rgyal ste e ma ho/ |
| ces gsungs drang srong srang lung bstan thob dus su// | ces gsungs drang lung bstan thob dus su/ | ces gsung drang srong lung bstan thob dus su% |
| steng nas lha 'khams kun gyis legs so byin/ | steng na lha khams kun gyi legs so byon/ | sting na lha khams gun gyi legs so byin% |
| 'dul ba'i gshen dang 'dul ba'i sum bcu so drug gis/ | [f.54a] 'dul ba'i gshen dang 'dul sum bcu so drug gis/ | 'dul ba'i gshen dang 'dul ba sum bcu so drug gi% |
| me tog char bab rab tu legs pa byin/ | me tog char phab rab tu legs pa byin/ | me tog char bab rab du legs pa byin/ |
| rang 'byung mchod rten drung du gtsug phud dbu skra breg/ | rang 'byung mchod rten drung du gtsug phud dbus skra breg/ | rang 'byung mchod rten drung du gtsug phud dbu skra breg% |
| tshangs pa rgya byin lha'i skra gzhong zer/ | tshangs dang rgya byin lha'i skra gzhong zer/ | tshangs pa rgya byin lha'i skra gzhong [f.49b] zed% |

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| nam mkha'i lha mos bdud rtsi khrus chab gsol/ | nam mkha' lha mo bdud rtsi chab gsol/ | nam mkha'i lha mos bdud rtsi khrus chab gsol% |
| lha rnams rdzu 'phrul skos 'debs rmad gos rnams drug phul/ | lha rnams rdzu 'phrul skos 'deb rmad gos rnam drug phul/ | lha rnams rdzu 'phrul skos 'deb rmad gos rnams drug phul% |
| rmad gos rmad zhu rmad sham pad lham dang/ | rmad zhus rmad gos rmad sham pad lhams dang/ | rmad zhu rmad gos rmad sham pad lham dang/ |
| pad shun gding ba sku la mdzes par [113] gsol/ | pad shud gding skur la .. mdzes pa gsol/ | pad shun gding ba sku la mdzes par gsol% |
| hos ru bsil yab pad por rang bzhin phyag tu bab/ | ho ru bsil yab pad phor rang bzhin phyag tu bab/ | hos ru bsil yab pad phor rang bzhin phyag du bab% |
| mkha' la bder gshegs sprin bzhin 'dus 'gyur ste/ | mkha' la bder gshegs sprin bzhin 'dus 'gyur te/ | mkha' la bder gshegs sprin 4n 'dus 'gyur te% |
| me tog gtor zhing bkra shis lung bstan brjod/ | me tog gtor zhing bkra shis lung bstan brjod/ | me tog gtor zhing bkra shis lung bstan brjod% |
| dung rta 'bang la bskur de rgyal bon yab la phul/ | dung rta 'bar la skus te rgyal bon yab la phul/ | dung rta 'bang la bskur te rgyal bon yab la phul% |
| rnam dag khrim kyis gling du 'dul khrims rdzogs/ | rnam dag khrims kyi gling du 'dus khrims rdzogs/ | rnams dag khrim gyi gling du 'dul khrim rdzog% |
| chu bo gyim shang 'gram du lo cig mi rka thub byas// | chu bo gyim shang 'gram du lo cig mi'i rka thub byas/ | chu'o gyim shang 'gram du lo 1 mi'i rka thub mdzad% |
| chu thig nyag ma re re gsol bar byas// | chu thig nyag ma re re gsol bar byas/ | chu thig nyag ma re re gsol bar byas% |
| rgyal chen rigs bzhi'i gnas su lo cig spre'u yi rka thub lo cig byas/ | rgyal chen rigs bzhi gnas su lo gcig spre'u yi rka thub byas/ | rgyal chen rig 4'i gnas su lo 1 spre'u'i rka thub byas% |
| shing thog 'bru ma re re gsol bar byas/ | shing thog 'bru mar re re gsol bar byas/ | shing thog 'bru ma re re gsol bar byas% |
| sum bcu rtsa gsum gnas su lo cig bya'i rka | sum bcu rtsa sum lo gcig bya'i rka thub | sum bcu rtsa 3 gnas su lo 1 bya'i rka thub |

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| thub byas/ | mdzad/ | byas% |
| ci yang mi gsol bsnyung ba nyid du byas/ | ci yang ma g.yos snyung ba nyid du byas/ | ci yang ma gsol bsnyung ba nyid du byas% |
| lha la bab ste 'ol mo gling du byon/ | rmad gos bla med lha la bab te 'ol mo gling du byon/ | lha las bab ste 'ol mo gling du byon% |
| bram ze sa la'i bu mos 'o ma'i 'jam drang ste/ | bram zes bu mo 'o ma 'dzam drang ste/ | bram ze sa la'i bu mos 'o ma'i 'byam drang ste% |
| 'bong ba'i rgyal pos sbrang rtsis pad phor drangs/ | [f.54b] bang ba'i rgyal po sbrang rtsi pad phor drangs/ | bong ba'i rgyal pos sbrang rtsi [f.50a] pad phor drangs% |
| de nas rgyal bon yab dang mjal 'gyur te/ | de nas rgyal bon yab dang mjal gyur te/ | de nas rgyal bon yab dang mjal 'gyur ste% |
| yab kyis [114] sras la smras pa ni// // | yab kyi sras la smras pa ni/ | yab gyi sras la smras pa ni% |
| kye ma sras cig gshen rab ston pa khyod/ | kye ma sras cig ston pa gshen rab khyod/ | kye ma sras 1 ston pa gshen rab khyod/ |
| rgung lo bcu la rgyas par rab tu bton/ | rgung lo bcu la rgyal sa rab tu bton/ | rgung lo bcu la rgyal sar rab tu bton% |
| bco lnga lon nas khab gis sku btsa zhing/ | bco lnga lo nas khab gis sku btsa' zhing/ | bco lnga lon nas khab gyi sku btsa' zhing% |
| bco brgyad lon nas yab la bon rnams nyon/ | bco brgyad lo na yab la bon rnams nyon/ | bco brgyad lon na yab la bon rnams nyan% |
| nyi shu rtsa lnga dag la phya'i ston pa mdzad/ | nyi shu rtsa lnga dag la phya'i ston pa mdzad/ | nyi shu rtsa lnga dag la phya'i ston pa mdzad% |
| da lta dgung lo sum bcu so cig la/ | de ltar dgong lo sum bcu so gcig la/ | da lta rgung lo sum bcu so 1 la/ |
| rgyal po khri la phab nas 'bangs kyis bzungs ba gzhin/ | rgyal po khri la bab nas 'bang kyi bzung ba gzhin/ | rgyal po khri la bab nas 'bang kyi bzung pa 4% |
| rgyal srid ma lus btsun mo 'khor spangs nas/ | rgyal srid ma lus btsun mo 'khor spong nas/ | rgyal srid ma lus btsun mo 'khor spang nas% |
| cig pur me tog gling la gshegs pa cig/ | gcig bur me tog gling la gsheg pa ci/ | cig bu me tog gling la gshegs pa ci% |
| rta dang glang po shing rta yi bcib par/ | rta dang glang po shing rtag mi bcing bar/ | rta dang glang po shing rta mi bcib par/ |
| tshe khrod rtsub pa'i lam la zhab rjen 'o 'o re brgyal/ | tshe khrod rtsub yi lam lam zhabs rje 'o re rgyal/ | tsher khrod rtsub pa'i lam la zhab rjen 'o re brgyal/ |

| sngar khyod dar ber rab bzang cig/ sha'i gos brgyan nas/ | sngar khyod dar zab rab bzang ka sha'i go gyon no/ | sngar khyod dar ber ras bzang ga sha'i gos gyon na% |
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| rmad gos ngur smrig rtsub pa ci ltar bzod/ | rmang gos tur smin rtsub po ci tar bzang/ | rmad gos ngur smrig rtsub pa ci ltar bzod% |
| khyed sngon gser skyog rngul skyobs su/ | khyod sngon gser skyogs dngul skyogs su/ | khyod sngon gser skyog dngul skyogs su% |
| zhal zas bzang po'i phun 'tshogs gsol ba la/ | zhal zas bzang po sum 'tshogs gsol ba la/ | zhal zas bzang po phun 'tshogs gsol ba la% |
| da ltar chu thig re tsam [115] bsnyung ba ga la bzod/ | da ltar chu re tsam brgyag dkar la bzod/ | da lta chu thig re tsam gsol ba ga la bzod% |
| khyod btsun mo sras dang 'khor bzang kun spangs nas/ | khyod btsun mo sras dang 'khor dang bzang kun spongs nas/ | khyod btsun mo sras dang 'khor bzang kun spang [f.50b] nas% |
| cig pur rab tu byung ba 'di ni ci mna' na/ | gcig pu rab tu byung ba 'di ni gnon/ | 1bu rab du byung pa 'di ni ci mnos na% |
| ces smras/ ston pas lan smras pa// | ces smras ston pa la ni smras pa/ | ces smras ston pas lan smras pa% |
| kye ma yab cig slob dpon rgyal po kye/ | kyed ma yab [f.55a] cig slob dpon rgyal bon gyis/ | kye ma yab 1 slob dpon rgyal kye% |
| bdag ni sngon nas rab tu byung ba yin/ | bdag ni sngon nas rab tu byung ba yin/ | bdag ni sngon nas rab tu byung ba yin% |
| 'dir mi chos lugs su rgyal srin btsun mo bskyongs/ | 'di ni mi chos lugs su rgyal srid btsan mo skye/ | 'dir ni mi chos lugs su rgyal srid btsun mo bskyang% |
| pho brang sgo bzhi byung ste chu bo bzhi la rgal/ | pho brang sgo bzhi byung ste/ | pho brang sgo 4r byung ste chu'o chen po 4 la rgal% |
| drang srang leg ldan rgyal ba'i lung thob nas/ | chu bo bzhi la rgal drang srong le ldan rgyal ba'i lus thob nas/ | drang srong leg ldan rgyal ba'i lung thob nas% |
| cig pur rka thub gling la rab byung sdom pa blangs/ | cig bur rka thub gling yar byung sdom pa blang/ | cig bu rka thub gling la rab byung sdom pa blang% |
| rka ba mdzad pa lo gsum mdzad gyur nas/ | rka ba spyod pa lo gsum mdzad gyur nas/ | rka ba spyad pa lo 3 mdzad gyur nas% |
| 'dir ni rgyal po yab la zhes 'bul du 'ongs/ | 'dir ni rgyal po yab la zhe sa 'bul tu 'dod/ | 'dir ni rgyal po yab la zhe sa 'bul du 'ong/ |
| dag ni gshen rab rdzu 'phrul rkang pas 'gro/ | bdag ni gshen rab rdzu 'phrul rkang pa 'gro/ | bdag ni gshen rab rdzu 'phrul rkang pa 'gro% |

| rta dang glang po shing rta sgyu ma'i rta/ | rta dang glang po shing rta sgyur ma rta/ | rta dang glang po shing rta sgyu ma'i rta/ |
|---|---|---|
| gshen rab ting 'dzin zab mchog te/ | gshen rab ting 'dzin ‘jig rten zas mchog ste/ | gshen rab ting 'dzin zas mchog ste% |
| zhal zas phun 'tshogs zag bcas ro la chags/ | zhal zas phun 'tshogs zag bcas ro la chags/ | zhal zas phun 'tshog zag bcas ro la chag% |
| gshen [116] rab rmad gas tshul khrims dri med gos/ | gshen rab rmang gos tshul khrims dri med gos/ | gshen rab rmad gos tshul khrims dri med gos% |
| khrel med ngo tsha'i gos dang bral ba ka sha'i gos mi 'tshal/ | khye'u yod tshe'i gos dang bral ba ka sha'i go mang 'tshal/ | khrel yod ngo tsha'i gos dang bral bas/<br>ka sha'i gos mi 'tshal/ |
| 'jig rten snyi rtsa'i grong phyir bdag bdag mi mchi/ | 'jig rten snying rtse 'gro phyir bdag mi mchis/ | 'jig rten snying brtse'i grog phyir bdag mi mchi% |
| nag 'tshal dgon pa'i gnas su bla med byang chub nye/ | nags tshal dgon pa gnas su bla med byang chub gnyer/ | nag tshal dgon pa'i gnas su bla med byang [f.51a] chub nye% |
| rgyal po rgyal srid spangs pa thar thugs rgyal sa yin/ | rgyal po rgyal srid [f.55b] spel ba rgyal po yin/ | rgyal bo rgyal srid spang pa rgyal po yin% |
| ces gsungs/ rgyal bon rab tu dgyes/ | ces gsungs rgyal po rab tu dgyes/ | ces gsung rgyal bon rab du dgyes/ |
| kye ma dang po skyes tshe sa yang rnam pa drug tu g.yos/ | kye ma dang po skye tshe yang rnam par drug tu g.yos/ | kye ma dang po skyes tshe sa yang drug du g.yos% |
| u du 'bar ra 'dzam bu'i shing 'khrungs dang/ | u tu 'bar ba 'dzam bu shing/ | u du 'bar ba 'dzam bu gling 'khrung dang/ |
| sngar med lha dang klu las sogs kun 'tshogs dang/ | 'khrungs dang snga ma lha dang klu la sogs kun 'tshogs dang/ | sngar med lha dang glu sog gun 'tshogs dang% |
| rgyal srid rin chen sna bdun mkha' la char cig phab dang/ | rgyal srid rin chen sna brgyad mkha' la char dbab dang/ | rgyal srid rin chen sna brgyad mkha' la char bab dang% |
| khyed ni sngar 'das ston pa'i rgyal tshab yin par nges/ | khyod ni sngar 'das ston pa'i rgyal tshab yin par nges/ | khyed ni sngar 'das ston pa'i rgyal tshab yin par nges% |
| da ni yab kyang bras las gus pas ram du bstod/ | da ni yab kyi sras la gus pa rab tu bstod/ | da ni yab gyang sras la gus pa rab du bstod/ |

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| ces gsungs/ kun kyis phyag rgya'i bstod/ | ces gsungs kun gyi phyag bgyi bstod/ | ces gsung kun gyis phyag brgya'is bstod/ |
| me tog gtor de yab sras mjal pa'o// | me tog gtor de yab sras mjal ba'o/ | me tog gtor ste yab sras mjal ba'o/ |
| de nas mi g.yo [117] ba'i brtan glings/ | de nas mi g.yo bsam gtan gling/ | de nas mi g.yo bsam gtan gling% |
| nag 'tshal dgon ba dben pa ru/ | nag tshal dgon pa dben pa ru/ | nag tshal rgon pa ru% |
| ston pa 'khor spangs dgon pa mdzad/ | ston pa 'khor spongs dgon pa mdzad/ | ston pas 'khor spang rgon pa mdzad% |
| stong nyid stong pa chen po zhes/ | stong nyid stong pa chen po zhing/ | stong nyid stong pa chen po zhes% |
| zhi ba chen po'i ting 'dzin bskyed/ | zhi ba chen po ting 'dzin bsgom/ | zhi ba chen po'i ting 'dzin bsgom/ |
| de tshe phyogs bcu'i bde bar gshegs/ | de tshe phyogs bcu bde bar gshegs/ | de tshe phyog bcu'i bde bar gsheg% |
| bsam gtan gling ni gang bar byon// | bsam gtan gling ni gang bar byon/ | bsam gtan gling ni gang par byon% |
| kye ston pa gshen rab nyid/ | kye ma ston pa gshen rab nyid/ | kye ma ston pa gshen rab nyid/ |
| stong ste stong chen de ma yin zhi ba 'di la | stong ste stong chen nga mi yin/ | stong ste stong chen de ma yin/ |
| phyogs cig pas/ | zhi ba 'di la phyogs gcig po/ | zhi ba 'di la phyog 1 ba/ |
| ci yang med pa'i skye mched gol/ | [f.56a] ci yang med pa skye mched gsol/ | ci yang med pa'i skye mched gol% |
| ting 'dzin 'di las bzhes nas ni/ | ting 'dzin 'di la bzhing la ni/ | ting 'dzin 'di las [f.51b] bzhings nas ni/ |
| 'og men bon sku'i zhing der ni/ | 'og min bon sku zhing ngor ni/ | 'og men bon rko'i zhing der ni% |
| rdzu 'phrul lus kyis bkod pas bshegs/ | rdzu 'phrul lus kyi bkod pa gshegs/ | rdzu 'phrul lus kyi bkod pas gsheg% |
| ston pa kun bzang bon sku la/ | ston pa kun bzang bon sko la/ | ston pa kun bzang bon rko la% |
| mthar thugs bon gyis sgros 'dog chod/ | mtha' thug don gyi sgrib 'dod chad/ | mthar thug don gyis sgros 'dog chod% |
| rang 'byung kun bzang dgongs pa lon nas/ | rang 'byung kun bzang dgongs pa long/ | rang 'byung kun bzang dgongs pa long/ |
| ces skul sog men gnas su gshegs/ | ces skul 'og min gnas su gshegs/ | ces bskul 'og men gnas su gshegs/ |
| ston pa kun bzang bon sku la/ | ston pa kun bzang bon sku la/ | ston pa kun bzang bon rko la% |
| bon dbang [118 ]sems la thob gyur nas/ | bon dbang sems la thog 'gyur nas/ | bon dbang sems la thobs 'gyur nas% |
| yang dag don gyis sgros 'dog chod/ | yang dag don gyi sku 'dong tshang/ | yang dag don gyis sgros 'dog chod/ |
| de nas 'od kyi lha ri rtse mthon du/ | de nas 'od kyi lha ru rtse mthon ru/ | de nas 'od gyi lha ri rtse mthon du/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ston pa bsam gtan dgongs pa mdzad/ | ston pa bsam gtan dgongs pa mdzad/ | ston pas bsam gtan dgongs pa mdzad/ |
| dgongs pa de bzhin nyid du gyur/ | dgongs pa de bzhin nyid du gyur/ | dgong pa de 4n nyid/ |
| de nas bdud kyis bu mo drug/ | de nas bdud kyi bu mo drug/ | de nas bdud gyi bu mo drug% |
| ston pa g.yo sgyus bslu ba'i phyir/ | ston pa g.ya' sgyur slu ba'i phyir/ | ston pa g.yo' sgyus bslus ba'i phyir% |
| g.yo sgyu sum cu so drug byas/ | g.yo' sgyur sum bcu so drug byas/ | g.yo sgyu sum bcu so drug byas% |
| sgyu ma lta bu'i ting 'dzin gyis/ | sgyu ma lta bu ting 'dzin gyi/ | sgyu ma lta bu'i ting 'dzin gyis/ |
| rgan mo drug tu gyur pa'o// | rgan mo drug tu gyur pa'o/ | rgan mo drug tu gyur pa'o/ |
| de nas g.yung drung dgu rtsegs rir seng gei | de nas g.yung drung dgu rtseg ri | de nas g.yung drung rgu rtseg rir% |
| rnams rtse'i ting 'dzin gyis/ | sing ghe'i rnam rtse ting 'dzin gyi/ | sing ge rnams rtse'i ting 'dzin gyi/ |
| dga' rab dbang phyug bdud kyi sde/ | | rga rab dbang phyug bdud gyi sde/ |
| bye ba sa ya'i dmags las rgyal/ | | bye ba sa ya'i dmag las rgyal/ |
| thugs dgongs mkha' ltar dag 'gyur ste/ | | thugs dgong nam mkha' ltar dag 'gyur ste/ |
| nam mkha' lta bu'i ting 'dzin gyis/ | nam mkha' lta bu ting 'dzin gyi/ | nam mkha' lta bu'i ting 'dzin gyi/ |
| shes bya'i sgrib pa kun dag nas/ | shes bya sgrib pa kun dag nas/ | shes bya'i sgrib pa kun dag nas/ |
| mnyam gzhag dkyil skrung mi g.yo ba/ | [f.56b] mnyam bzhag dkyil krung ma g.yos pa/ | mnyam bzhag dkyil grung ma g.yos par/ |
| nam lang nyi shar du mngon sangs rgyas/ | nam lang nyi shar dus la mngon sangs rgyas/ | nam [f.52a] la nyi shar dus la mngon sangs rgyas% |
| de tshe khyab pas 'di skad du/ | de tshe khyab pa 'di skad du/ | de tshe khyab pas 'di skad du/ |
| ston pa cig bu sangs rgyas nas/ | ston pa cig bur mngon sangs rgyas/ | ston pa 1 bu sangs rgyas na/ |
| khyod la dpang po su yod gyur/ | khyod la dpang po su yang gyur/ | khyod la dpang po su yod gyur/ |
| de [119] tshe sa'i lha mo ni/ | de tshe sa'i lha mo ni/ | de tshe sa'i lha mo ni/ |
| sku phyed thon te 'di skad du/ | sku phyed thog de'i 'di skad du/ | sku phyed thon de 'di skad du/ |
| ston pa cig bu mngon sangs rgyas/ | ston pa cig bu mngon sangs rgyas/ | ston pa 1 bu mngon sangs rgyas/ |

| dpang po dam pa nga yin pas/ | dpang po dam pa nga yin pa/ | dpang po dam pa nga yin pas/ |
| --- | --- | --- |
| bdud ni sdig to ma smra cig/ | bdud ni sdig tog ma smros cig/ | bdud ni sdig to ma smra 1/ |
| de'i tshe de'i dus/ | de'i tshe de'i dus/ | de'i tshe de'i dus na/ |
| sa yang rnam pa drug du g.yos/ | sa yang rnam par drug tu g.yos/ | sa yang rnam pa drug du g.yos/ |
| lha'i bu ni bye ba yang/ | lha'i bu ni bye ba yang/ | lha'i bu ni bye ba yang% |
| mi skye bon la bzod pa thob/ | ma skyes bon la bzod pa thob/ | mi skye bon la bzod pa thobs% |
| g.yung drung sems dpa' 'bum phrags bcu/ | g.yung drung sems dpa'i 'bum phrag bcu/ | g.yung drung sems 'bum phrag bcu% |
| shes bya'i sgrib pa thams cad dag/ | shes bya'i sgrib pa thams cad dag/ | shes bya'i sgrib pa thams cad dag/ |
| phyir mi ldog pa'i sa la 'khod/ | phyir mi ldog pa'i sa la 'khod/ | phyir mi ldog pa'i sa la 'khod/ |
| gshen phran stong dang lnga brgya yang/ | gshen phrun stong dang lnga brgya yang/ | gshen phran stong dang lnga brgya yang% |
| bla na med pa'i lam rnyed do/ | bla na med pa lam brnyed dam/ | bla na med pa'i lam rnyed de/ |
| phyir mi 'ong ba'i 'bras bu thob/ | phyir mi 'ong ba'i 'bras bu thob/ | phyir mi 'ong pa'i 'bras bu thobs/ |
| yab cig rgyal bon thod dkar yang/ | yab cig rgyal bon thod dkar yang/ | yab 1 rgyal bon thod dkar yang% |
| bar po so brgyad rtse mo ru phung po lhag ma ma lus par/ | bar po so brgyad rtse mo ru/ | bar po so brgyad rtse mo ru% |
| | phung po lhag ma ma lus pa/ | phung po lhag ma ma lus par/ |
| rgyun du zhugs pa'i 'bras bu thob/ | rgyun du bzhugs pa'i 'bras bu thob/ | rgyun du zhug pa'i 'bras bu thobs% |
| 'ol mo gling du rin chen me tog bab/ | 'ol mo gling du me tog rin chen char/ | 'ol mo gling du rin chen me tog char% |
| sngar med dge rtags mang du byung/ | sngar med dag spyod mang du byung/ | sngar med dge rtag mang du byung/ |
| g.yung drung dag pa'i bon/ mdo' 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las ston pas [120] khyim spangs rab byung nas/ mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa'i le'u ste bcu gsum pa'o// // | g.yung drung dag pa'i [f.57a] bon/ mdo 'dus ba'i 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las/ ston pa khyim spong rab tu byung nas/ mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa'i le'u ste/ bcu gsum pa'o/ | g.yung drung dag pa'i bon mdo' 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud las% ston pas khyim spang rab du byung nas% mngon par rdzogs pa sang rgyas pa'i le'u ste bcu 3 pa'o// % |
| | | |

| *mDo 'dus*, Chapter xvii (only relevant passage) | | |
|---|---|---|
| [147]<br>gyer chen sgo bzhi mdzod dang lnga/<br>hos sgo theg pa rim dgur dbye/<br>phya gshen snang gshen srid gshen dang/<br>'phrul gshen rgyu'i bon bzhi dang/<br>chab nag srid rgyud sgo nas byung/<br>gto spyad 'bum stes gzhan don gyis/<br>dge snyen drang srong 'dul ba'i sde/<br>dpon gsas lung gis sgo nas byung/<br>rgyu drug mngon bzhi 'dul khrim bsrungs//<br>a dkar sngags rgyud phyi nang gsang/<br>chab dkar sngags kyis sgo byung nas/<br>bsnyen bsgrub zab mo nyams su longs/<br>ye gshen mdo 'bum lta ba'i sde/<br>'phen yul rgyas pa'i sgo nas byung/<br>dgongs rgyud zab mo nyams su long/<br>rdzogs chen a ti ba'i sde/<br>gtsangs ma mtho lto rgyud nas byungs/<br>lta dgongs 'gyur med nyams su longs/ | [f. 68b]<br>gyer chen sgo bzhi mdzod dang lnga/<br>hor sgo theg pa rim dgu dbye'/<br>phya gshen snang gshen srid gshen dang/<br>'phrul gshen rgyu'i bon bzhi yang/<br>chab nag srid rgyu sgo nas byung/<br>gto dpyod 'bum sde gzhan don gyi/<br>dge bsnyen drang srong 'dul ba ste/<br>dpon gsas [f.69a] lung gi sgo nas byung/<br>rgyud drug mngon bzhin 'dul khrim srung/<br>a dkar sngags rgyu phyi nang gsung/<br>chab dkar sngags kyi sgo nas byung/<br>bsnyen sgrub zab mo nyams su long/<br>ye gshen mdo 'bum lta ba'i sde/<br>'phen yul rgyas pas sgo nas byung/<br>dgongs rgyud zab mo nyams su long/<br>rdzogs chen a 'di lta ba'i sde/<br>gtsang ma mthong thog mdzod nas byung/<br>lta dgongs 'gyur med nyams su long/ | [f.65a]<br>gyer chen sgo 4 mdzod dang lnga/<br>hos sgo theg pa rim dgur dbye/<br>phya gshen snang gshen srid gshen dang/<br>'phrul gshen rgyu'i bon 4 yang%<br>chabs nag srid rgyud sgo nas byung/<br>gto spyad 'bum sde gzhan don gyis/<br>dge bsnyen drang srung 'dul ba'i sde/<br>dpon gsas lung gi sgo nas byung/<br>rgyud drug mngon 4 'dul khrim bsrung%<br>a dkar sngag rgyud phyi nang gsang/<br>chab dkar sngags kyi sgo nas byung/<br>bsnyen sgrub zab mo nyams su long/<br>ye gshen mdo' 'bum lta ba'i sde/<br>'phen yul rgyas pa'i sgo nas byung/<br>dgong rgyud zab mo nyams su long%<br>rdzog chen a ti lta ba'i sde%<br>gtsang [f.65b] ma mtho ldo rgyud nas byung%<br>lta dgong 'gyur med nyams su long% |
| *mDo 'dus* (Chapter xxi) | | |
| [p.195]<br>de nas kong rtse 'phrul rgyal gyis// | [f.86a]<br>de la gong rtse 'phrul rgyal gyi/ | [f.85b]<br>de nas kong tse 'phrul rgyal gyi/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ston pa gshen rab mi bo la/ | ston pa gshen rab mi bo la/ | ston pa gshen rab mi po la/ |
| rgyal srid phul nas zhus pa'i mdo/ | rgyal srid phul nas zhus pa'i mdo'/ | [f.86a] rgyal srid phul nas zhus pa'i mdo% |
| e ma ston pa gshen rab phul/ | e ma ston pa gshen rab phul/ | e ma ston pa gshen rab phul/ |
| dbyings kyi yum dang ye shes lha/ | dbyings kyi klong nas ye shes lhar/ | dbying kyi klong du ye shes lha/ |
| thabs kyi mchog dang shes rab phul/ | thabs gyi mchog gi shes rab phul/ | thab kyi mchog kyi shes rab phul/ |
| ston pa bla ni med gshen rab la/ | ston pa gshen rab bla med la/ | ston pa bla med gshen rab la/ |
| kang tse dang bas gus phyag 'tshal/ | gong tse dad gus phyag 'tshal lo/ | gong tshe dad gus phyag 'tshal lo/ |
| ston pa bdud btul mngon sangs rgyas/ | ston pa bdud 'dul [f.86b] mngon sangs rgyas/ | ston pas bdud btul mngon sang rgyas% |
| 'gro ba 'dul ba'i thabs mchog tu/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba thab mchog tu/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba'i thab mchog du% |
| cho 'phrul chen po bstan pa gang/ | cho 'phrul chen po bstan pa gang/ | cho 'phrul chen po bstan pa gang% |
| 'khor rnams kun la bshad du gsol/ | 'khor rnams kun la bshad du gsol/ | 'khor rnams kun la bshad du gsol/ |
| zhes zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pas/ | ces zhus ston pa bka' rtsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ |
| 'gro ba 'dul ba'i cho 'phrul las/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba cho 'phrul la/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba'i cho 'phrul la% |
| cho 'phrul chen po lnga [196] bstan te/ | cho 'phrul chen po lnga bstan te/ | cho 'phrul chen po lnga bstan te/ |
| rang bzhin gyi ni cho 'phrul dang/ | rang bzhin gyi ni cho 'phrul dang/ | rang bzhin gyi ni cho 'phrul dang% |
| byin gyis brlabs pa'i cho 'phrul dang/ | byin gyi rlabs kyi cho 'phrul dang/ | byin gyi brlab gyi cho 'phrul dang/ |
| rdzu 'phrul gyi ni cho 'phrul dang/ | rdzu 'phrul gyi ni cho 'phrul dang/ | rdzu 'phrul gyi ni cho 'phrul dang/ |
| rjes su bstan pa'i cho 'phrul dang/ | rjes su bstan pa'i cho 'phrul dang/ | rjes su bstan pa'i cho 'phrul dang/ |
| bstan pa rjes bzhag cho 'phrul lo/ | bstan pa rjes bzhags cho 'phrul dang/ | bstan pa rjes bzhag cho 'phrul lo/ |
| rang bzhin gyi ni cho 'phrul ni/ | rang bzhin gyi ni cho 'phrul ni/ | rang bzhin gyi ni cho 'phrul ni/ |
| 'og min lha'i pho brang nas/ | 'og min lha'i pho brang na/ | 'og men lha'i pho brang na/ |
| rdzogs sku gshen lha 'od dkar la// | rdzogs sku gshen lha 'od dkar la/ | rdzog sku gshen lha 'od dkar la% |
| g.yung drung sems dpa' 'bum gyis bskor// | g.yung drung sems dpa' 'bum gyi bskor/ | g.yung drung sems dpa' 'bum gyi bskor/ |
| gsang ba bla med don rnams bshad/ | gsang ba bla med don rnams bshad/ | gsang pa bla med don rnam bshad/ |

| lta ba bon gyi 'khor lo bskor/ | lta ba bon gyi 'khor lo bskor/ | lta ba bon gyi 'khor lo bskor% |
|---|---|---|
| sa bcu shes bya'i sgrib pa sbyang/ | sa bcu'i shes bya'i sgrib pa sbyong/ | [f.86b] sa bcu shes bya'i sgrib pa sbyang/ |
| bar lha 'od gsal gnas zhes bya/ | bar lha 'od gsal gnas zhes bya/ | bar lha 'od gsal gnas zhes bya% |
| mgon gsum phya'i grong khyer du/ | mgon gsum phwya'i grong khyer du/ | mgon 3 phya'i grong khyer du% |
| 'gro ba 'dul ba'i 'phrin mas (las) la/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba 'phrin las la/ | 'gro ba 'dul ba'i 'phrin las la% |
| gang la 'dul sprul sa 'gyed/ | gang la gang 'dul [f.87a & 88a] sprul pa gyer/ | gang la gang 'dul sprul pa 'gyed/ |
| nyi ma dang ni 'od zer ltar/ | nyi ma dang ni 'od zer ltar/ | nyi ma dang ni 'od zer 4n% |
| bon gyis sku la phya g.yos kyang/ | bon nyid sku la ma g.yos kyang/ | bon gyi sku las ma g.yos kyang/ |
| longs spyod rdzogs la cir yang sprul/ | longs spyod rdzogs la cir yang sprul/ | longs spyod rdzogs la cir yang sprul% |
| 'og min gnas su [197] mngon rdzogs kyang/ | 'og ma'i gnas su mngon rdzogs kyang/ | 'og men gnas su mngon rdzog gyang/ |
| cir yang sprul sku 'dzam gling du/ | ci yang sprul sku 'dzam gling du/ | cir yang sprul sku 'dzam gling du% |
| ston pa gshen rab mngon sangs rgyas/ | ston pa gshen rab mngon sangs rgyas/ | ston pa gshen rab mngon sangs rgyas/ |
| 'dul ba drug dang sum cu so gsum sog/ | 'dul ba mdzad drug dang sum drug sogs/ | 'dul ba drug dang sum bcu so drug bsogs% |
| 'dzam gling bye ba phrag brgya ru/ | 'dzam gling bye ba phrag brgya ru/ | 'dzam gling bye ba phrag brgya ru |
| gshen rab bye ba phrag brgya 'byung/ | gshen rab bye ba phrag brgya byung/ | gshen rab bye ba phrag brgya byung/ |
| theg pa dgu'i rigs rnams la/ | theg pa dgu'i rig rnams la/ | theg pa dgu'i rig rnams la% |
| theg sgo bye brag bon rnams bshad// | theg sgo drug dang bye brag bon rnams bshad/ | theg sgo bye brag bon rnams bshad/ |
| rang bzhin ston pa'i cho 'phrul lo// | rang bzhi ston pa cho 'phrul lo/ | rang bzhin ston pa'i cho 'phrul lo/ |
| byin gyis brlabs pa'i cho 'phrul ni/ | byin gyi brlab pa cho 'phrul ni/ | byin gyi brlab pa'i cho 'phrul ni/ |
| ston pa'i zhabs kyi long bu dang/ | ston pa zhal gyi lo bu dang/ | ston pa'i zhabs gyi long bu dang% |
| dbang po drug dang phyag dang bu/ | dbang po drug dang phyag dang dbu …/ | dbang po drug dang phyag dang dbu/ |
| de las 'od zer bye ba byung/ | de la 'od zer bye ba byung/ | de la 'od zer bye ba byung/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| de la ston pa re re 'byung/ | de la ston pa re re byung/ | de la ston pa re re byung/ |
| kun khyang tshad med bon bshad cing/ | kun khyang mtshan med bon bshad cing/ | kun khyang mtshan [f.78a] med bon bshad cing/ |
| 'gro ba'i don rnams byed pa dang/ | 'gro ba'i don rnams byed pa dang/ | 'gro ba'i don rnam byed pa dang/ |
| ston pas sku cig bstan pa la/ | ston pa sku cing bstan pa la/ | ston pas sku 1 bstan pa la/ |
| nam mkha' zla zugs [198] char gsal bzhin/ | nam mkha' zla zug chu gsal bzhin/ | nam mkha'i zla gzugs chur gsal 4n% |
| sems can rnams ni ro re bzhin/ | sems can rnams ni re re bzhin/ | sems can rnams ni re re bzhin/ |
| rang rang gang mos ston pa snang/ | rang rang gang mos ston [f.87b & 88b] pa snang/ | rang rang gang mos ston par snang% |
| rang rang mos pa'i bon 'chad dang/ | rang rang mos pa bon 'chad dang/ | rang rang mos ba'i bon 'chad dang/ |
| bka' rtags bya dang shing rnams dang/ | bka' rtag byed dang shing rnams dang/ | bka' rtag bya dang shing rnam dang% |
| 'byung ba bzhi dang ri dang brags/ | 'byung ba' bzhi dang ri brag lags/ | 'byu ba bzhi dang ri dang brag% |
| de las bon gyi sgo yang byung/ | de la bon gyis sgra yang 'byung/ | de la bon gyi sgra yang byung/ |
| gsung gi byin gyis brlabs pa'o/ | gsungs gis byin gyi rlab pa'o/ | gsung gi byin gyis brlab pa'o% |
| thugs kyi byin gyis brlabs pa ni// | thug kyi byin gyi rlabs pa ni/ | thugs kyis byin gyis brlab pa ni/ |
| ston pa dgongs pa la bzhugs tshe/ | ston pa dgongs pa bzhugs pa tshe/ | ston pa dgongs pa la bzhug tshe/ |
| kong rtse 'phrul rgyal la sogs pas/ | gong tse 'phrul rgyal la sogs pa/ | kong tse 'phrul rgyal la sogs pa% |
| ston pa'i dgongs la bsgrub pa'o/ | ston pa dgongs pa bsgrub pa'i/ | ston pa'i dgongs pa bsgrub pa'o/ |
| sku'i byin gyis brlabs pa ni/ | sku'i byin gyis rlab pa ni/ | sku'i byin gyis brlab pa ni/ |
| rgyal po la sogs pa la/ | rgyal po sa la la sogs pa/ | rgyal po sa la sogs pa% |
| ston pas phyag gis spyi bor bzhags/ | ston pa phyag ni so bor bzhugs/ | ston pas phyag ni spyi bor bzhag% |
| ston pa'i sku'i byin gyis brlabs bzhugs pa'o/ | ston pa sku'i byin rlabs bzhugs pa'o/ | ston pa sku'i byin rlab zhug pa'o/ |
| lung bstan byin brlabs pa ni/ | lung bstan byin gyi rlabs pa ni/ | lung bstan gyi brlab pa ni/ |
| ston pa yid kyi khye'u chung la rgyal po hos | ston pa yid kyi khye'u chung la/ | ston pas yid gyi khye'u chung la% |

| [199] kyi 'gro ba'i don gyis shig dang/ | rgyal po 'gro don gyi cig dang/ | rgyal po dpo'i 'gro don gyis shig dang% |
|---|---|---|
| 'a zha gsang ba mdo sdud la gsang bon dus la | | 'a zha gsang pa mdo' sdud la/ |
| ma g.yos pa la/ | | [f.87b] gsang sgom dus las ma yol dang/ |
| nga'i gdung gnyer gyis shig dang/ | | nga'i gdung gnyer gyis shig dang% |
| mu cho ldem drug srid pa gung sangs yul/ | mi co ldem drug srid pa gang sangs yul/ | mu cho ldem drug srid pa gung sang yul% |
| ston pa gshen rab lha'i zhal ltos dang/ | ston pa gshen lha zhal ltos dang/ | ston pa gshen rab lha'i zhal ltos dang% |
| nga'i rgyud 'dzin ni 'dren pa'i shog rtse pa'o// | nga yi rgyud ni 'dron pa cig/ ces pa'o/ | nga'i rgyud phyi 'dren par shog ces pa'o/ |
| rdzu 'phrul gyis ni cho 'phrul ni/ | rdzu 'phrul gyi ni cho 'phrul ni/ | rdzu 'phrul gyi ni cho 'phrul ni/ |
| sa yang drug du g.yos pa dang/ | sa g.yos drug du g.yos pa dang/ | sa yang drug du g.yos pa la/ |
| bdud kyi cho 'phrul sna dgu btul/ | bdud gyi cho 'phrul sna dgu [f.89a] btul/ | bdud gyi cho 'phrul sna dgu btul/ |
| 'dul ba drug dang sum cu so gsum gyis/ | 'dul bral gsum bcu so drug gis/ | 'dul ba sum cu so drug gi/ |
| 'jig rten dregs pa can rnams btul/ | 'jig rten dreg pa can rnams 'dul/ | 'jig rten dregs pa can rnam btul/ |
| nad mug dug mtshon me chu rlungs g.yos pa | nad mug mtshon dang mi tshugs rlabs/ | nad mug mtshon dang me chu rlung/ |
| dang thog 'bebs pa/ | sa g.yos ba dang thog 'beb pa dang/ | sa g.yo ba dang thog 'beb pa dang% |
| 'jig pa brgyad las 'khor rnam skyobs/ | 'jig pa brgyad la 'khor rnams skyobs/ | 'jigs pa brgyad las 'khor rnams skyob% |
| ston pa'i sku ni bye ba sprul/ | ston pa sku ni bye ba sprul/ | ston pa'i sku ni bye ba sprul/ |
| bdud ni gar yin ma shes dang/ | bdud kyi gang yin ma shes pa dang/ | bdud gyi gar yin ma shes dang/ |
| ston pa ba spu bu ga nas/ | ston pa spu bu ga ni/ | ston pa'i ba spu bu ka nas/ |
| khro 'gyed sprul pa bye ba spros/ | khro chung sprul pa bye ba sprul/ | khro gyad sprul pa bye bar spros/ |
| bdud rnams spa bkod bgegs rnams skrag | bdud rnams spa bkang bgegs rnams btul/ | bdud rnams spa bskong bgegs rnams srag |
| [200] mi 'ob pad ma tshal du bsgyur/ | me 'ob pad ma tshul du skyes/ | me 'od pad ma'i tshal du bsgyur/ |
| | dug chu nag po bdud rnams bsgyur/ | dug chu nag po bdud rtsir bsgyur/ |
| bdud kyi mda' 'phang me tog gyur/ | bdud kyi mda' 'phang me tog gyur/ | bdud gyi mda' 'phang me tog gyur/ |
| rdzu 'phrul dag gi cho 'phrul lo/ | rdzu 'phrul dag gis cho 'phrul lo/ | rdzu 'phrul dag gi cho 'phrul lo% |

<table>
<tr>
<td>rjes su bstan pa'i cho 'phrul ni/<br>'brog mo lnga brgya rtsa gcig la/<br>chang bu byin te sha khrag la/<br>mi za ba'i sdom pa phog/<br>stag smeg lnga la bla sha byin/<br>phyis ni 'brog gnas lnga ru gyur//<br>'ol mo gling du bkod pa rdzogs//<br>'phang gsal bdud ri bon ri sgyur/<br>khyung lung dngul mkhar brtsegs pa dang/<br>lha ri gyang to bstan pa bzhag/<br>bstan pa bzhag pa'i cho 'phrul ni/<br>sku gzugs zhal skyin sku'i rten/<br>gsung rab 'bum sde gsung gi rten/<br>sku gdung ring sel (bsrel) thugs kyi rten/<br>'gro don bstan pa rnams gsum bzhag pa'o/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo 'dus pa rin po<br>che'i rgyud las/ cho 'phrul bstan pa'i le'u ste/<br>nyi shu gcig pa'o//</td>
<td>rjes su bstan pa cho 'phrul ni/<br>'phrog ma lnga brgya rtsa ba gcig la/<br>chang bu byin te sha khrag ni/<br>mi za ba'i sdom pa'i phob/<br><br><br><br>'phrang sal bdud ri bon ri bsgyur/<br>khyung lung dngul mkhar brtsig pa dang/<br>lha ri gyang tor bstan pa bzhag/<br>bstan pa [f.89b] bzhag pa cho 'phrul ni/<br>sku gzugs re re'i sku'i brten/<br>gsung rab 'bum sde gsung gi brtan/<br>sku gdung ring sel thugs kyi brten/<br>'gro don bstan pa rnams gsum bzhag pa'o/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon/ mdo' 'dus pa rin po<br>che rgyud la/ cho 'phrul bstan pa'i le'u ste/<br>nyi shu gcig pa'o/</td>
<td>[f.88a] rjes su bstan pa'i cho 'phrul ni/<br>phrag ma lnga brgya rtsa 1 la%<br>chang bu byin de sha khrag ni%<br>mi za ba'i sdom pa phog%<br>stag smad lnga la bla sha byin/<br>'phyis ni 'brog gnas lnga ru gyur/<br>'ol mo gling du bkod pa rdzogs/<br>'phrang bsal bdud ri bon rir bsgyur/<br>khyung lung rngul mkhar brtseg pa dang/<br>lha ri gyang tor bstan pa bzhag%<br>bstan pa bzhag pa'i cho 'phrul ni%<br>sku gzugs ras ris sku'i rten/<br>gsung rab 'bum sde gsung gi rten/<br>sku gdung ring srel thugs kyi rten/<br>'gro don bstan pa rnam 3 bzhag pa'o/<br>g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo' 'dus pa rin po<br>che'i rgyud las/ cho 'phrul bstan pa'i le'u ste<br>nyer 1 pa'o/ 卍 %/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="3"><br>mDo ’dus, Chapter xxii (only relevant passage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[p. 207]<br>mu khyud mdzes mtsho shing bsil grib/ drang<br>srong 'gog pa bsgoms pa'i gnas/<br>de rgyab gling ni bcu gnyis ste/</td>
<td>[f.92b]<br>mi khyud mdzes pa shing/<br>de ni drang srong 'gog pa'i gnas/<br>de rgyab gling ni bcu gnyis te/</td>
<td>[f.91a]<br>mu khyud mdzes pa’i shing/<br>drang srong 'gog pa'i gnas/<br>de rgyab gling ni bcu 2 te/</td>
</tr>
</table>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| shar rgyal rigs rgyal sa 'dzin pa'i gling/ | shar rgyal rig rgyal sa 'dzin pa gling/ | shar rgyal rig rgyal sa 'dzin pa'i gling/ |
| chu bo na ra 'dza ra babs/ | chu bo na ra 'dza ra 'bab/ | chu bo na ra 'dza ra bab/ |
| g.yas su gser gling gser rgyud nas/ | g.yas su gser gling gser gyur na/ | g.yas su gser gling gser rgyud gnas/ |
| g.yon du zangs gling bkra shis gnas/ | g.yon du zang gling bkra shis gnas/ | g.yon na zang gling bkra shis gnas gling/ |
| lho phyogs rje'u rigs bkod pa'i gling// | lho phyog rje'u rig bkod pa'i gling/ | lho phyog rje'u rig bkod pa'i gling/ |
| chu bo si ti si dhu 'bab/ | chu bo si ti drang srong 'gro ba 'dul ba gling/ | chu'o si ta si 'du 'bab/ |
| g.yas drang srong 'gro ba 'dul ba'i gling// | | g.yas na drang srong 'gro ba 'dul ba'i gling% |
| rab 'byung mchod rten stong dang ldan/ | rang byung mchod rten stong dang ldan/ | rang 'byung mchod rten stong dang ldan/ |
| g.yon na bram ze mya ngan med pa'i gling/ | g.yon na bram zer myang med gling/ | g.yon na bram ze mye ngan med pa'i gling/ |
| dur bu gling du mya ngan 'das pa'o/ | dur bu gling du mya ngan 'das sa 'o/ | dur bu gling du mya ngan 'das pa'o/ |
| nub phyogs bram ze gtsang ba'i gling/ | nub phyogs bram zer gling gtsang gling/ | nub phyog bram ze gtsang pa'i gling/ |
| chu bo gyim shang phyi nang 'bab/ | chu bo gyim shang phyi shang 'bab/ | chu'o gyim shang phyi shang 'bab/ |
| g.yas na bram ze hos mo gling/ | g.yas na bram zer hos mo gling/ | g.yas na bram ze hos mo gling/ |
| ri ni hos ru rtse mtho yod/ | ris ni hos ri rtse mthong yod/ | ri ni hos ri rtse mthon yod/ |
| g.yon na 'bri mig dgu bskor bskor mtsho'i gling/ | g.yon na 'bri myig dgu bskor mtsho'i gling/ | [f.91b] g.yon na 'bri mig dgu bskor mtsho'i gling/ |
| ston pas klu la bon bshad pa/ | ston pa klu la bon bshad pas/ | ston pas klu la bon bshad pa/ |
| byang na rmang rigs gdol ba'i gling/ | byang nas rmang rigs gdol pa gling/ | byang na rmang rig gdol pa'i gling/ |
| chu bo dpag shu rtsang po [208] babs/ | chu bo drag shug rtsub po 'babs/ | chu bo bag shu rtsang po 'bab/ |
| *mDo 'dus* (Chapter xxiv) | | |
| [p.220] | [f.97b] | [f.97a] |
| de nas bdud rje khyab pa'i gshen rab la 'di skad smras// | de nas bdud rje khyab pa yin/ | de nas bdud rje khyab pa lag ring gyis/ |
| | gshen rab la ni 'di skad smas/ | gshen rab la ni 'di skad smras/ |

| ston pa gshen rab cung tshul gson/ | ston pa gshen rab cung tshur gson/ | ston pa gshen rab gcung tsur gson% |
|---|---|---|
| khyod kyi 'dzam bu'i gling 'di ru 'gro ba'i don | khyod kyi 'dzam bu gling bzhi ru/ | khyod kyi 'dzam bu gling 'di ru% |
| rnams rdzogs zin na/ | 'gro ba don smon rdzogs zin te/ | 'gro ba'i don rnams rdzogs zin te/ |
| ston pa mya ngan 'das par rig/ | [f.98a] ston pa mya ngan 'da' ba rigs/ | ston pa mya ngan 'dha bar rig% |
| ces smras ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ | ces smas ston pa bka' rtsal pa/ | ces smras ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ |
| rig'u rmig gang gi chu dang ni/ | re'u rmig gang gis chu dang ni/ | re'u rmig gang gi chu dang ni/ |
| rgya mtsho chu dang gang mang dris/ | rgyal mtsho chu ni gang ma dris/ | rgya mtsho' chu ni gang mang dris/ |
| bdud kyi rgya mtsho'i chu mang smras/ | bdud kyi rgya mtsho chu mang zin/ | bdud gyi rgya mtsho chus mang zer/ |
| 'o na bdag gis don byas sems can ni/ | 'on kyang bdag gis don byas sems/ | 'o na bdag gi don byas sems can ni% |
| rig'u rmig gang gi chu dang ni don ma byas | re'u rmig gang gi tshul tsam la/ | re'u rmig gang gi chu tsam la% |
| pa'i sems can rgya mtsho tsam/ | don ma byas pa sems can rgya mtsho tsam/ | don ma byas pa'i sems can rgya mtsho tsam/ |
| de nas mya ngan 'da' mi btul/ | de bas mya ngan 'das mi gtub/ | de bas mya ngan 'da' mi [f.97b] btub/ |
| ces pas bdud kyang log na song/ | ces pa bdud kyi log na song/ | ces pas bdud kyang log nas song/ |
| de nas ston pa gshen rab la/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab lags/ | de nas ston pa gshen rab la/ |
| gshen bu rgyud 'dzin gyis zhus pas/ | gshen bu rgyud 'dzin gyi zhu pa/ | gshen bu rgyud 'dzin gyi zhus pa% |
| a bo yab gcig gshen rab lags/ | e bo yab gcig gshen rab lags/ | a bo yab 1 gshen rab lag% |
| ston mchog 'ol mo gling bzhugs nas | ston mchog 'ol mo'i gling bzhugs nas/ | ston mchog 'ol mo gling bzhug na/ |
| dur bu gling 'di nyam mi dga'/ | dar bu gling 'dir nyam mi dga'/ | dur bu gling 'di nyam mi rga% |
| u [221] du 'bar ra'i me tog rnyed/ | u du 'bar ra me tog brnyed/ | u du 'bar ba'i me tog rnyid/ |
| 'dzam bu'i gling gis lo ma skom/ | 'dzam bu gling gi lo ma skams/ | 'dzam bu shing gi lo ma skam/ |
| skyed mo tshal gyi me tog sad/ | skyes mo tshal gyis me tog sad/ | skyed mo tshal gyi me tog sad/ |
| pho gling mo gling nyam mi dga'/ | pho gling mo gling nyam mi dga'/ | pho gling mo gling nyams mi dag/ |
| bar po so brgyad bkrag kyang chung/ | bar po so brgyad bkra' kyang chad/ | bar po so brgyad bkrag kyang chung% |
| ston pa nyid kyi zhal nas kyang/ | ston pa nyid kyi zhal nas kyang/ | ston pa nyid gyi zhal nas gyang/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bdud sems lha ru gyur pa nas/ | bdud sems lta ru gyur pa na/ | bdud sems lha ru gyur pa na% |
| gshen rab mya ngan 'da' gsung nas// | gshen rab mya ngan 'dha' gsung nas/ | gshen rab mya ngan 'dha gsung nas/ |
| khyab pa dga' 'gyur rab tu byung/ | khyad pa dga' zhing rab tu byung/ | khyab pa rga mgu rab tu byung/ |
| gshen rab smra ba tshig gcig yin/ | gshen rab smra ba tshig gcig yin/ | gshen rab smra ba tshig yin% |
| brtul shug can gyi dbang gyur nas/ | brtul shug can gyi dbang gyur pa/ | rtul shug can gyi dbang gyur nas/ |
| gshen rab mya ngan 'das 'gyur ram/ | gshen rab mya ngan 'da' gyur ram/ | gshen rab mya ngan 'dha 'gyur ram/ |
| 'on kyang mya ngan ma 'das bzhugs/ | 'on kyang mya ngan [f.98b] mi 'dab bzhug/ | 'on kyang mya ngan ma 'da bzhugs% |
| ston pas bdag la bshad du gsol/ | ston pa bdag la bshad du gsol/ | ston pas bdag la bshad du gsol/ |
| ces zhus pa ston pas bka' rtsal pa// | ces zhus ston pa bka' stsal pa/ | ces zhus ston pas bka' rtsal pa% |
| kye ma rgyud 'dzin la sogs 'khor// | kye ma rgyu 'dzin la sogs 'khor/ | kye ma rgyud 'dzin la sogs 'khor/ |
| gshen rab dus gsum mnyam gyur kyang/ | gshen rab dus gsum mnyam gyur kyang/ | gshen rab dus 3 mnyam gyur gyang/ |
| mi lo brgya dang gshen zhag gcig/ | mi lo brgyad la gshen zhugs gcig/ | [f.98a] mi lo brgya la gshen zhag 1/ |
| zhag ni sum brgya drug cu lo/ | zhag ni sum brgya drug bcu'o/ | zhag ni sum brgya drug bcu'o/ |
| gshen lo brgya cu tham pa la/ | gshen lo brgya cu tham pa la/ | gshen lo brgya cu tham pa la% |
| bdud kyi mya ngan 'das zhus te/ | bdud kyi mya ngan 'da' zhu te/ | bdud gyi mya ngan 'dha zhus ste/ |
| 'chi bdag las btsan dbang du nas/ | 'chi bdag las btsan dbang du ni/ | 'chi bdag las btsan dbang du na/ |
| [222] mya ngan 'das pa'i dus yin te/ | mya ngan 'da' ba dus yi te/ | mya ngan ba'i dus yin te/ |
| 'chi bdag bdud las zlog pa dang/ | 'chi bdag bdud las zlog pa dang/ | 'chi bdag bdud las zlog pa dang% |
| bdud sems lha ru bsgyur ba'i phyir/ | bdung sems lha ru sgyur ba'i phyir/ | bdud sems lha ru bsgyur ba'i phyir/ |
| lo ni gnyis phyi shol btab yin/ | lo nyes phyir shol btab pa yin/ | lo 2 phyi shol btab pa yin% |
| nga ni brgyad bcu rtsa gnyis lon/ | da ni brgyad bcu rtsa gnyis lo/ | da ni brgya cu rtsa 2 lon/ |
| gshen rab rdzu 'phrul rkang pa ldan/ | gshen rab rdzu 'phrul rkang pa ldan/ | gshen rab rdzu 'phrul rkang par ldan/ |
| 'da' dang mi 'da' rang dbang che/ | 'da' dang mi 'ong rang dbang chen/ | dha dang mi dha rang dbang che/ |
| | 'gro dang 'ong ba rang dbang che/ | 'gro dang mi 'gro rang dbang che/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | las dang skye la rang dbang che/ | las dang skye la rang dbang che/ |
| ye shes rdzu 'phrul rang dbang che/ | ye shes rdzu 'phrul rang dbang che/ | ye shes rdzu 'phrul rang dbang che/ |
| rang dbang che bar gyur na yang/ | rang dbang che zhing gyur na yang/ | rang dbang chen bar gyur na yang/ |
| sems can rmongs pa'i langs ngan ni/ | sems can rmongs pa las la ni/ | sems can rmong pa'i las la ni/ |
| gshen rab mthu yang rdug pa min/ | gshen rab mthu yang rdul pa yin/ | gshen rab mthu yang rdug pa yin% |
| 'dzam bu gling du mdzad pa rdzogs/ | 'dzam bu gling gi mdzod [f.99a] pa rdzogs/ | 'dzam bu gling du mdzad pa rdzog/ |
| rtag 'dzin can gyi rigs rnams las// | rtag 'dzin can gyi rigs rnam la/ | rtag 'dzin can gyi rig rnams la/ |
| 'khor ba mi rtag tshul bstan phyir/ | 'khor ba mi rtag tshul bstan phyir/ | 'khor ba mi rtag tshul bstan phyir/ |
| bdag ni yongs mya ngan 'das/ | bdag kyang yongs su mya ngan 'da'/ | bdag ni yongs su mya ngan 'dha/ |
| mya ngan ma byed zhan rtag can/ | mya ngan ma byed zhig rtag can/ | mya ngan ma byed zhen rtag can/ |
| gdung bar ma byed rgyud 'dzin dag/ | gdung ba ma byed rgyud 'dzin dag/ | gdung bar ma byed rgyud 'dzin dag% |
| nga ni 'gro ba mtha' dag la/ | nga ni 'gro ba mtha' dag la/ | da ni 'gro ba mtha' [f.98b] dag la/ |
| 'da' ba rab tu phan par dgongs/ | 'da' bas rab du phan dgongs so/ | 'da' bas rab du phan pa dgong% |
| ces gsung dur bu gling du bzhugs/ | ces gsungs dur bu gling du zhug/ | ces gsung dur bu gling du bzhug% |
| ston pa mya ngan 'das zhes | ston pa mya ngan 'da' 'o zhes/ | ston pa mya ngan 'dha'o zhes/ |
| nam mkha' la sgra byung nas/ | nam mkha' dag la sgra byung nas/ | nam mkha' dag la sgra byung nas/ |
| ya bzhi zung brgyad 'khor rnams tshogs/ | ya bzhin zung brgyad 'khor rnams 'tshog/ | ya bzhi' zung brgyad 'khor rnams 'tshog/ |
| ston pa bsnyung ba'i [223]  tshul bstan te/ | ston pa snyung bas tshul bstan te/ | ston pa bsnyu ba'i tshul bstan ste/ |
| dpyad bu khri shes dpyad byas kyang/ | dpyad bu khri shes dpyad byas kyang/ | dpyad bu khri shes dpyad byas kyang/ |
| phyi yul dbang po sgo spyod kyang/ | phyi yul na zhi dbang po sgo dpyad nas/ | phyi g.yul dbang po sgo dpyad kyang/ |
| ston pa'i dbang po gzi mdangs gsal/ | ston pa dbang po khri gzugs mdangs gsal/ | ston pa'i dbang po gzi mdang gsal/ |
| rig byas rtsa spyod byas kyang yang/ | rigs bya rtsa dpyod byad nas yang/ | reg bya rtsa dpyad byas na yang/ |
| lus kyi rig byas rtsa ni snyoms/ | lus kyi rig byang rtsa nas bsnyam/ | lus kyi reg bya rtsa ni snyom/ |
| yab kyi ci na zhus nas yang/ | yab cig ce nas zhus na yang/ | yab 1 ci na zhus na yang/ |

| a bo a nas ces kyang gsungs// | a bo a na ce kyang gsungs/ | a bo a na ces gyang gsung/ |
|---|---|---|
| der dpyad bu dpyad sgo ma tshugs ste/ | de dpyad bu dpyad ma tshig te/ | der dpyad bus dpyad sgo ma tshug ste/ |
| yab cig gshen rab bsnyung ba la// | yab cig gshen rab snyum pa la/ | yab 1 gshen rab bsnyu ba la% |
| dpyad bu bsnyung nas ngos ma zin/ | dpyad bu snyum ni nges ma zer/ | dpyad bus bsnyung nad ngos ma zin/ |
| yab cig a bo a ni zhing/ | ya cig a bo a na cig/ | yab 1 a bo a na ci/ |
| de la ston pas bka' rtsal pa/ | ston pa de la bka' stsal pa/ | ston pas de la bka' rtsal pa% |
| nyon cig dpyad bu khri shes dag/ | nyon cig dpyad bu khrim shes pa/ | nyon 1 dpyad bu khri shes dag/ |
| spyi na sems can bdag thog med pa nas da lta | spyi na sems can na ba yang/ | spyir na sems can na ba dag/ |
| bar | thog [f.99b] ma med na da bar du/ | thog ma med na da bar du% |
| du ma rig ma rtog 'khrul pas na/ | ma rig ma rtog 'khrul pa ni/ | ma rig ma rtog 'khrul pa na% |
| bdag gshen rab ston pa lan chags byang/ | bdag gshen rab bsngos nas lan chags byung/ | bdag gshen rab sngon nas lan chag byang/ |
| dbang po sgo bsal lan chag 'jal/ | dbang po sgo bsal lan chag 'jal/ | dbang po sgo [f.99a] bsal lan chag 'jal/ |
| nyon mongs brgyad khri rtsal sbyang pa/ | nyon mongs brgyad khri rtsal la spyod/ | nyon mongs brgya khri'i rtsa lam sbyang/ |
| sems kyi zug ngu nad zug med/ | sems kyi zung rngu rdul nad zog med/ | sems kyi zug rngu nad zug med% |
| a bo yab cig gshen rab yin/ | a bo yab cig gshen rab la/ | a bo yab 1 gshen rab yin% |
| a [224] ni skye ba med pa yin/ | a ni skye ba med pa yi/ | a ni skye ba med pa yin/ |
| bo ni 'gag pa med pa yin/ | bon ni 'gag pa med pa ste/ | bo ni 'gag pa med pa yin% |
| na ba 'khor ba'i sdug bsnal yin/ | na ba 'khor ba sdug bsnal yin/ | na ba 'khor ba'i sdug bsnal yin/ |
| gshen rab 'khor ba mya ngan 'das/ | gshen rab 'khor ba mya ngan 'das/ | gshen rab 'khor ba mya ngan 'das/ |
| 'khor ba'i sdug sngal nad sbyang yin/ | 'khor ba sdug bsngal nad spyod phyir/ | 'khor ba'i sdug sngal nad sbyang phyir% |
| skye dang 'chi dang na bar bstan/ | skyes dang 'chi dang na ba bstan/ | skye dang 'chi dang na bar bstan/ |
| phyung po nad kyis rgyu yin te/ | phung po nad kyi rgyud yi te/ | phung po nad gyi rgyu yin te/ |
| nad kyi rtsa ba ma rig pas/ | nad kyi rtsa ba ma rig pa/ | nad gyi rtsa ba ma rig pa/ |
| dug gsum rgyud las nad gsum byung/ | dus gsum rgyu la nad gsum byung/ | dug 3 rgyu las nad 3 byung/ |

| rlung dang 'khris pa bad kan gsum// | rlung dang mkhris pa bad kan gsum/ | rlung dang 'khris pa bad kan 3/ |
| --- | --- | --- |
| khams sum 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal dang/ | khams gsum 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal yin/ | khams 3 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal yin/ |
| | gshen rab 'khor ba sdug bsngal sangs/ | gshen rab 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal sangs% |
| sdug bsngal mya ngan la 'das pa ste/ | sdug bsngal mya ngan las 'das pa/ | sdug bsngal mya ngan las 'das pa% |
| bde ba chen po bon sku yin/ | bde ba chen po bon sku yin/ | bde ba chen po bon sku yin/ |
| sa bcu'i 'dul dpon longs spyod rdzogs/ | sa bcu 'dul dpon longs spyod rdzogs/ | sa bcu'i 'dul dpon longs spyod rdzog% |
| cir yang sprul sku'i rig drug sbyong/ | ci yang sprul sku ris drug spyod/ | cir yang sprul skus ris drug sbyong% |
| mya ngan 'da' bar yod ma bsam/ | mya ngan 'dab bar yang ma bsam/ | mya ngan 'da' par yong ma bsam/ |
| 'da' ka ye shes mdo 'di zung/ | 'da' ka ye shes mdo' 'di gzigs/ | 'da ka ye shes mdo' 'di zung/ |
| lus can 'chi ba dus kyis nad/ | lus cig 'chi ba nad gyi gzung/ | lus can 'chi ba dus kyi gnad/ |
| nad gzhi 'byung ba so so 'khrugs/ | nad gzhi [f.100a] 'byung ba so so 'khrug/ | nad 4 'byung ba so sor 'khrug/ |
| lus gzugs dbang po kun yang nyams/ | lus gzug dbang po sgo yang nyams/ | lus gzung dbang po sgo yang nyam/ |
| srog gi dbang po rlung yang 'gags/ | srog gi dbang po rlung gis 'gal/ | srog gi dbang [f.99b] po rlung yang 'gag/ |
| phyi'i 'byung ba dus kyis thim/ | phyi'i 'byung ba dus kyis thims/ | phyi'i 'byung ba dus kyi thim/ |
| nang gi dbang po kun bzhi 'dus/ | nang gi dbang po kun gzhi thims/ | nang gi dbang po kun gzhir 'dus% |
| rang 'byung rig pa'i ye shes thim/ | rang 'byung rig pa ye shes thims/ | rang 'byung rig pa'i ye shes thim% |
| [225] lus sems bem rig so sor phral/ | lus sems bos rig so sor byed/ | lus sem ber rig so sor bye/ |
| bar do bag chags rten la zhen/ | bar do bag chags rta la zhon/ | bar do bag chag rta la zhon/ |
| las dbang skye sgo bzang ngan len/ | las dbang skye sgo bzang ngan len/ | las dbang skye sgo bzang ngan len/ |
| ci bsrid 'khor ba rgyud pa'i 'phro/ | ci srid 'khor ba brgyad pa 'phreng/ | ci srid 'khor ba brgyud pa'i 'phrang/ |
| rab kyi gshen rab rtogs pa chod/ | rang gis gshen rab rtog pa chod/ | rab gyi gshen rab rtogs pas chod/ |
| 'bring gi dge ba'i 'phen shugs bskyed/ | 'bring gi dge ba 'phel shug skyed/ | 'bring gi dge ba'i 'phen shug skyed/ |
| tha ma u du 'bar ra'i lam/ | tha ma u du 'bar ba lam/ | tha ma u du 'bar ra'i lam/ |
| kye ma rang sems dag la gshen rab ste// | kye ma rang sems dag pa gshen rab ste/ | kye ma rang sems dag pa gshen rab te% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| sangs rgyas gzhan du ma btsal te/ | sangs rgyas gzhan la mi btsal ste/ | sangs rgyas gzhan du mi btsal ste/ |
| sems ni skye med don rtogs pa/ | sems ni skye med don rtog nas/ | sems ni skye med don rtogs pa/ |
| rang 'byung ye shes shar ba'o/ | rang 'byung ye shes shar ba'o/ | rang 'byung ye shes shar ba'o/ |
| sems can thams cad ma gyur pas/ | sems can thams cad ma gyur pa/ | sems can thams cad mar gyur pas% |
| byams pa snying rje rtse gcig bsgoms/ | byams pa snying rje rtse cig sgom/ | byams pa snying rje rtse 1 sgom/ |
| srid pa 'chi ba mi dge bas/ | srid pa 'chi ba mi dge ba/ | srid par 'ching pa mi dge ba% |
| las ngan sdig pa rab tu spangs/ | las ngan sdig pa rab tu spong/ | las ngan sdig pa rab du spang/ |
| mtho ris grol ba'i rgyu yin te/ | mtho' ri 'gro ba rgyun yin te/ | mtho ris 'gro ba'i rgyu yin te/ |
| dge ba kun gyis rjes su zhugs/ | dge ba kun gyi rjes su 'jug/ | dge ba gun gyi rjes su zhug/ |
| nor rdzas 'jig rten rgyu ma ste/ | nor rdzas 'jig rten sgyu ma ste/ | nor rdzas 'jig rten sgyu ma ste/ |
| chag med sbyin pa rab tu btang/ | chag med sbyin pa rab tu gtong/ | chag med sbyin pa rab tu btang/ |
| phung po 'dus byas 'jig pa'i rgyud/ | phung po 'du byed 'jig pa rgyud/ | phung po 'dus byas 'jig pa'i rgyu/ |
| zhan pa rab tu med par rdzogs/ | zhan pa med pa rab du bsgom/ | [f.100a] zhen pa med par rab du sgom/ |
| dus gsum cig te dbyer med pas/ | dus gsum gcig [f.100b] snyen dbyer med pa/ | dus 3 1 te dbyer med pas/ |
| 'das dang mi 'da' [226] med par bsgom/ | 'dha dang mi 'dha' med pa sgo/ | 'dha dang mi 'dha med bar sgom/ |
| sems na sangs rgyas rgyu yin pas/ | sems ni sangs rgyas rgyun yin pas/ | sems ni sangs rgyas rgyu yin pas% |
| ma bcos kun gzhi byon skur bzhag/ | ma bcos kun gzhi bon sku bzhag/ | ma bcos kun gzhi bon skur bzhag% |
| 'da' ka ye shes 'pho ba yin/ | 'dha ka ye shes 'pho ba ni/ | 'dha kha ye shes 'pho ba ni/ |
| rang sems 'od kyi thig le bsdu/ | rang sems 'od kyi thig le bsdud/ | rang sem 'od gyi thig ler bsdu/ |
| dkar sla dri med nyung dkar tsam/ | dkar gsal dri ma yang dkar tsom/ | dkar gsal dri med nyung dkar tsam/ |
| ma chags kun gzhi tshangs pa'i lam/ | ma chags kun mchog tshong pa lam/ | ma chag kun gzhi tshang pa'i lam/ |
| 'og men (min) bon sgo spyi gtsug 'phros/ | 'og mi sgo na spyi gtsug 'phos/ | 'og men bon sgo spyi gtsug 'pho/ |
| 'phos rkyen gnam du mda' 'phang 'dra// | 'phongs rkyes gnam du mda' 'phang 'dra/ | 'pho skyen gnam du mda' 'phang 'dra/ |
| | 'dha ka ye shes de shes kyi/ | 'da' kha ye shes de shes gyi/ |

| ston pas 'das ka ye shes gsung ma thag/ | ston pa 'dha ka ye shes gsungs/ | ston pas 'da' ka ye shes gsung ma thag/ |
|---|---|---|
| 'ja' 'od 'ol mo'i gling du 'khrig/ | thag dus 'ja' 'od 'ol mo gling du 'khrungs/ | 'ja 'od 'ol mo gling du 'khrig/ |
| sa yang rnam pa drug tu g.yos/ | sa yang rnam pa drug tu g.yos/ | sa yang rnams pa drug du g.yos/ |
| lha klu mchod pa'i tshogs kyang spungs/ | lha klu mchod pa tshogs kyang spung/ | lha klus mchod pa'i tshog kyang spung/ |
| 'dul ba drug dang sum cu rtsa gsum dang/ | 'dul ba drug sum bcu gsum dang/ | 'dul ba drug dang sum bcu so 3 dang/ |
| phyogs skyong sde brgyad thams cad phyogs su mchod/ | phyog skyong sde brgyad thams cad phyogs su 'tshogs/ | phyog skyong sde brgyad thams cad phyogs su 'tshogs% |
| sgra snyen grags shing me tog char du babs/ | sgra snyan grag cig me tog char du bab/ | sgra snyan grag cing me tog char du 'bab/ |
| ston pa nyid dkyil krung mnyam bzhag mdzad/ | ston pa nyid kyi dkyil grangs mnyam bzhag mdzad/ | ston pa nyid gyang dkyil grung mnyam bzhag mdzad/ |
| sku gsung phyogs bcur gshen rab gzigs/ | sku gsung phyog bcu gshen rab gzig/ | sku bsrang phyog bcur gshen rab gzig% |
| zhabs nas a a drung mu 'od/ | zhal nas a a drung mu'o/ | zhal nas a [f.100b] a drung du 'bod/ |
| khyab bdal zer 'phro mu rum gsal/ | khyab bdal zer 'phro mun rum gsal/ | khyab bdal zer 'phro mun rum gsal/ |
| skye [227] ba med par mngon sangs rgyas/ | skye ba med pa mngon sangs rgyas/ | skye ba med par mngon sangs rgyas/ |
| 'gags pa med pa thugs rje shar/ | 'gag pa med pa thugs rje shar/ | 'gags pa med par thugs rje shar/ |
| rtsal med 'gro don rgya lags phyed/ | rtsal med 'gro don rgya la phyir/ | rtsol med 'gro don rgya lag phyed/ |
| nges rjod 'dam ba'i tshul bstan no/ | ces brjod 'dha' [f.101a] pa'i tshul bstan te/ | ces brjod 'dha ba'i tshul bstan no/ |
| spyi gtsug a dkar skar mda' btang par ltar/ | spyi gtsug a dkar skar mda' btang ba ltar/ | spyi gtsug a dkar skar mda' btang ba ltar/ |
| mi mngon nam mkha'i dbyings thim kun la gsal/ | mi mngon nam mkha' dbyings thim kun la gsal/ | mi mngon mkha' dbying thim pa kun la gsal/ |
| la las ston pa mya ngan 'das zhes brjod// | la las ston pa 'da' ces brjod/ | la las ston pa mya ngan 'das ces brjod/ |
| la las ston pa gshen rab gshegs zhes drod kyang nyul// | la las ston pa gshegs zhus drod kyang nyul/ | la las ston pa gsheg ces drod kyang nyul/ |
| drod dang 'od dang ni spyi bo'i gtsug tu 'dus/ | drod dang 'od ni spyi bo'i gtsug tu gcig 'dus/ | drod dang 'od ni spyi bo gtsug du 'dus/ |

| la las skyobs pa cher skyes 'go 'jug dus/ | la las spyi bo cher skyes 'jug/ | la las skyo ba cher skyes 'jus nas ngus% |
|---|---|---|
| la las mnyam pa'i don rtogs bzhugs/ | la las mnyam pa don rtog bzhugs/ | la las mnyam pa'i don rtog bzhug |
| zhags bdun bar du 'od kyi gdung yang g.yogs/ | zhag bdun bar du 'od kyang gdung yang g.yog/ | zhag bdun bar du 'od gyi gdung yang g.yog/ |
| gdung gnyer ci ltar byas zhes gling pa la/ | gdung gnyer ci ltar bya zhes gling pa la/ | gdung gnyer ci ltar bya zhes gling pa la% |
| seng ge brgyad bsnol phug nas yod (mdo) bsdud dgongs pa shes/ | seng ge rgyal bsnol phul nas mdo' sdud dgong pa shes/ | sing ge brgyad bsnol phug nas mdo' sdud dgongs pas shes/ |
| btsun pa brtul shugs can gyi mdo bsdud gdan drangs te/ | btsun pa rdul shug can yin mdo' sdug gdan drangs ste/ | btsun pa rtul shug can gyi mdo sdud gdan drang te/ |
| gshen rab gdung gnyer mdzad par kun gyis zhus/ | gshen rab gdung gnyer mdzad pa kun kyi shes kyi shel/ | gshen rab gdung gnyer mdzad pa kun gyi shes/ |
| gser gyis [228] zhugs khang g.yu rtse bzhings (bzhengs) pa ru/ | gser gyi zhug khang g.yu rtse bzheng par tu/ | gser yi zhug khang g.yu rtse bzhing ba ru/ |
| ston pa'i gdung bzhugs/ rgyas spras te/ | ston pa gdung bzhug rgyan spros te/ | [f.101a] ston pa'i gdung bzhug rgyan spras te/ |
| dgung zhag bzhi bcu rtsa dgu mdo 'bum rgyud klog mdzad/ | dgu zhag bzhi bcu zhe rgu mdo' 'bum rgya klong mdzad/ | rgung zhag bzhi bcu rtsa dgur mdo 'bum rgyud klog mdzad/ |
| mu cho ldem drug 'dren par byon 'gyur na/ | mu cho ldem drug 'dren par byed gyur na/ | mu cho ldem drug 'dren par byon 'gyur nas/ |
| bder gshegs stong gis gdung khang dkyil 'khor bris/ | bder gshegs stong gi gdung khang dkyil 'khor bri/ | bder gshegs stong gi gdung khang dkyil 'khor bri/ |
| rin chen khri bting la/ | rin chen khri ste tsan 'dha zhu mod ste/ | rin chen khri sting tsan dhan zhug me la/ |
| tsan 'dan me la ston pa'i gdung bzhus/ gdung mchod byas so// | ston pa'i gdung bzhung gdung mchod ces bya'o/ | ston pa'i gdung bzhug gdung mchod cher byas so/ |
| rin chen sna lnga yang 'byung/ | [f.101b] rin chen sna lnga ldan … sgram bu gdung rten lnga yang byung/ | rin chen lha'i sbram bu gdung rten lnga yang byung/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| de nas sku gdung bgos pa ni// | de nas sku gdung bgos pa ni/ | de nas sku gdung bgos pa ni/ |
| gdung rten lnga ni sus kyang sgul ma thub/ | gdung rten lnga ni sus kyang bsgurb la mthun pa/ | gdung rten lnga ni sus gyang sgul ma thub/ |
| mdo bsdud phyag gi blangs te/<br>pho brang lnga ru bzhugs/ | mdo' sdug phyag gis blang ste pho brang lnga ru bzhugs/ | mdo sdud phyag gi blang te pho brang lnga ru bzhug/ |
| ston pa mdzes pa'i gling du mchod rten bcu gnyis bzhengs/ | ston pa mdzad pa gling du mchod rten bcu gnyis bzhengs/ | ston pa mdzad pa'i gling du mchod rten bcu 2 bzhing/ |
| thugs ljags ring bsrel gdung khang bar po so brgyad bzhugs/ | thugs ljags rings sril gdung khung bar po so brgyad bzhugs/ | thugs ljag ring srel gdung khang bar po so brgyad bzhug% |
| ya so lha dang ma so klus gdan drangs te/ | ye shes lha dang ma sangs klu gdan drangs/ | ya so lha dang ma so klus gdan drang% |
| gdung skal so sor 'ol mo gling bskor du/ | gdung bskor so so 'ol mo gling bskor dus/ | gdung skal so so 'ol mo gling skor du/ |
| mchod pa'i rten yang re re bzhengs/ | mchod pa'i rten yang re re bzhings/ | mchod pa'i rten yang re re bzhing/ |
| thar pa 'dre srin dag gis khyer/ | thal ba so so 'dre srin dag gis khyer/ | thal sol 'dre srin dag gi khyer/ |
| de ltar sku gdung bgos pa'o/ | de ltar sku gdung bkod pa'o/ | de ltar sku gdung bgos pa'o/ |
| de nas ston pa'i 'khor rnams kyis/ | de nas ston pa 'khor rnams gyis/ | de nas ston pa'i 'khor rnam gyi/ |
| bon rnams [229] sdud bar rab tu mdzad/ | bon rnams bsdus bar rab du mdzad/ | bon rnam bsdu ba [f.101b] rab du mdzad/ |
| ston pa mya ngan las das nas lo gcig nas/ | ston pa mya ngan 'das nas lo gcig na/ | ston pa mya ngan 'das nas lo 1 la/ |
| g.yung drung bkod pa'i gling du tshogs/ | g.yung drung bkang pa gling du 'tshog/ | g.yung drung bkod pa'i gling du 'tshog% |
| gsang ba mdo bsdud gsung ba'i mdo/ | g.yas su gsang ba mdo' sdud gsung pa'o/ | gsang pa mdo sdud gsung pa'i mdo'% |
| ston pa gshen rab mi bo yis/ | ston pa gshen rab mi bo'i/ | ston pa gshen rab mi po'i/ |
| rma lo g.yu lo thugs kyis sras/ | rma lo g.yu lo thug kyi sras/ | rma lo g.yu lo thugs kyis sras/ |
| gto bu dpyad bu sku'i sras/ | gto' bu sras bu sprul pa'i sras/ | gto bu dpyad bu sku'i sras/ |
| lha bu sras bu sprul pa'i sras// | | lha bu sras bu sprul pa'i sras/ |
| lung 'dren rgyud 'dren gshen rab sras/ | lus 'dren rgyun 'dren gshen rab sras/ | lung 'dren rgyud 'dren gshen rab sras/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'phrul bu rkong bu phya'i sras// | 'phrul bu rkang bu phyi'i sras/ | 'phrul bu rkong bu phya'i sras/ |
| bdud bu bslus bu 'dir mi gnas/ | | bdud bu bslu ba 'dir mi gnas/ |
| ston pa gshen rab mya ngan 'das/ | | ston pa gshen rab mya ngan 'das/ |
| sngon chad sku gdung bkod pa rdzogs/ | | snga 'chang sku gdung bkod pa rdzog/ |
| da ni bon rnams bsdu bar mdzod/ | | da ni bon rnams bsdu ba mdzod% |
| bka' dang rjes su stan pa'i bon/ | bka' dang rjes su bstan pa bon/ | bka' dang rjes su bzhag pa'i bon/ |
| bon rnams thams cad de ru 'dus/ | bon rnams thams cad de ru 'dus/ | bon rnams thams cad de ru 'dus/ |
| bka' dang rjes su bstan pa'i bon/ | | |
| bka' ni ston pas gsungs pa ste/ | [f.102a] bka' ni ston pa gsungs pa ste/ | bka' ni ston bas gsung pa ste/ |
| bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' zhes byas/ | bde bar gshegs pa bka' zhes bya/ | bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' zhes bya/ |
| bka' ni phun sum tshogs lngar bshad/ | bka' ni phun sum tshog pa lnga bshad de/ | bka' ni phun 3 'tshogs pa lngas bshad de/ |
| ston pa lha'i gnas dang 'khor dus bon/ | ston pa gnas dang 'khor du bon/ | ston pa gnas dang 'khor dus bon/ |
| rjes su bstan pa'i bon ces pas/ | rjes su bstan pa bon bcas pa/ | rjes su bstan pa'i bon ces pa/ |
| [230] ston pa lha'i rjes su zhugs nas/ | ston pa lha'i rje zhug nas/ | ston pa lha'i rjes zhug nas/ |
| ston pa'i 'khor gyis gsungs pa'o/ | ston pa 'khor gyi gsungs pa'o/ | ston pa'i 'khor gyi gsung pa'o% |
| de yang rtsis 'go lnga 'chad te/ | de yang rtse dgong lnga 'chad te/ | de yang [f.102a] rtsis mgo lngas 'chad de/ |
| phyogs gar gtogs dang/ rgyud gar gnas/ | phyogs gar gtogs dang rgyu gar dus/ | phyog gar gtogs pa dang/ rgyud gang btus/ |
| gang zag gang gis mdzad/ | gang zag gang gis mdzad/ | gang zag gang gi mdzad dang mtshan cir gsol/ |
| dang mtshan cir gsol/ | 'ol mo lung ring 'di la mtshan ci gsol/ | |
| dgongs chad ci'i don gyis mtshan btsan pa'o/ | dgos chen rtsi phyir brtsam pa 'o/ | rgos ched ci'i phyir brtsam pa'o/ |
| snod sde zung gsum yang drug te/ | sde snod grang gsum ya drug ste/ | sde snod zung 3 ya drug ste/ |
| zung du 'brel ba'i tshad ma gsum// | zung du 'brel ba tshad ma gsum/ | zung du 'brel pa'i tshad ma 3/ |
| do ru mnyam pa bden sa gnyis/ | de ru mnyam par bden pa gnyis/ | do ru mnyam pa bden pa 2/ |
| gzungs so dag la 'dzin shes shing// | bzungs so dag la mdzad shes zhing/ | gzung so dag la 'dzin shes shing% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bdag sgo dag la ming thogs pa/ | bdag sgo dag la ma thog pa/ | gdag sgo dag la mi thog pa/ |
| go lam dag la don rnyed mdzod/ | gom dag la don brnyed mdzod/ | go lam dag la don rnyed mdzod/ |
| mdo sde gyur pa thams cad ni/ | mdo' sde gyur pa thams cad ni/ | mdo sder gyur pa thams cad ni/ |
| mdo bsdud bdag gis bsdus par mdzod/ | mdo' sdus bdag gis sdus ba mdzod/ | mdo sdud bdag gi bsdu bar mdzad/ |
| 'bum sder gyur pa thams cad ni/ | | 'bum sder gyur pa thams cad ni/ |
| rma lo g.yu los bsdu bar mdzod/ | | rma lo g.yu los bsdu bar mdzod/ |
| 'dul ba rgyu drug gtsug gshen rgyal bas bsdus/ | 'dul ba rgyud drug tsug shen rgyal ba sdus/ | 'dul ba sde 6 gtsug gshen rgyal bas bsdus/ |
| mdo sde lung 'dren dag gi bsdus/ | mngon pa sde bdud lung 'dren dag gis sdus/ | mngon ba sde bdun lung 'dren dag gis bsdus/ |
| gto rgyud 'bum sde gto bu bsdus/ | gto' rgyud 'bum sde gto' bu sdus/ | gto rgyud 'bum sde gto bus bsdus/ |
| sman dpyad nyi khri dpyad bus bsdus/ | sman dpyad nyi khri dpyad bu sdus/ | sman dpyad nyi khri dpyad bus bsdus/ |
| rgyud 'dren a dkar sngags rgyud bsdus/ | rgyud 'dren a dkar sngags rgyud bsdus/ | rgyud 'dren a dkar sngag rgyud bsdus/ |
| gsung rab 'bum sde nges pa'i don rtags kyis/ | gsung rab 'bum sde ngas par don rtog kyi/ | gsung rab 'bum sde nges pa'i don rtag gyi/ |
| [231] rags ris legs sku bder gshegs zhal skyin gyis/ | ris la lus sku bder gshegs [f.102b] zhal skyin gyi/ | ras ris lugs sku bder gshegs zhal skyin gyis/ |
| sku gdung ring bsrel thugs kyi rten du gyis/ | sku gdung ring sel thugs kyi rten du gyi/ | sku gdung ring srel [f.102b] thugs kyi rten du gyis/ |
| 'ol mo lung ring du bstan pa rnam gsum rjes bzhag mdzod/ | bstan pa rnams gsum rjes bzhags mdzad/ | 'ol mo lung ring 'dir bstan pa rnams 3 rjes bzhag mdzod/ |
| mdo bsdud bdag nyid gsang bsgom 'gog par gshegs/ | mdo bsdus bdag nyid gsang sgor 'gog par gshegs/ | mdo sdud bdag ni gsang sgom 'gog par gsheg% |
| mu cho ldem drug ston pa'i rgyal tshab gyi/ | mu cho ldem drug ston pa rgyal tshab kyis/ | mu cho ldem drug bstan pi rgyal tshab mdzod/ |
| bon gyi 'khor lo lo gsum glog bshad mdzad// | bon gyi 'khor gsum klog bshad mdzod/ | bon gyi 'khor lo lo 3 klog bshad mdzod/ |
| ces gsung thams cad yi rang ngo/ | ces gsungs thams cad rjes su yid rang ngo/ | ces gsung thams cad rjes su yid rang ngo/ |
| de ltar gsang sdud gsung gi rjes su bsgrubs | de ltar gsang sdud gsungs gis rjes su bsgrub/ | de ltar gsang sdud gsung gi rjes su bsgrub so/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| so// | | |
| gsang bsdud gtsug rum 'bar ba'i ri la gshegs/ | gsang sdud btsug ri 'bar ba'i ri la gshegs/ | gsang sdud gtsug rum 'bar ba'i ri la gsheg/ |
| mu cho ldem drug bstan pa'i klog bshad mdzad de lo gsum bzhugs/ | mi co ldem drug bka' la rtags pa yi/ | mu cho ldem drug bka' la brten pa'i/ |
| | klog bshad chen mo nam mdzad de la … bzhugs/ | klog bshad chen po mdzad de lo 3 bzhug/ |
| de nas mgon gsum phya'i grong du ni/ | de na mgon gsum phya'i grong khyer du/ | de nas mgon 3 phya'i grong du ni/ |
| 'ja' tshon 'od dang chas par gshegs/ | 'ja' tshon 'od dang chag pa gshegs/ | 'ja' tshon 'od dang chas par gsheg% |
| de nas 'ol drug thang pos lo gsum klog bshad mdzad/ | de nas 'ol drug thang po lo gsum klog bshad mdzad/ | de nas 'ol drug thang pos lo 3 klog bshad mdzad/ |
| lha rgyud ye shes rgyud bshad mdzad/ | lha rgyud ye shes rgyud bshad mdzad nas/ | lha rgyud ye shes rgyud bshad mdzad/ |
| 'od drug bar lha 'od gsal gshegs/ | 'od drug bar lha 'od gsal gnas su gshegs/ | 'ol drug bar lha 'od gsal gnas su gsheg% |
| [232] de nas rma lo g.yu los lo drug bshad mdzad/ | de nas rma lo g.yu lo lo drug klog bshad mdzad/ | de nas rma lo g.yu los lo drug klog bshad mdzad/ |
| gsung rab 'bum sde tshil bu rkyang bshad mdzad/ | gsung rab 'bum sde sol bu rkyen bshad mdzad/ | gsung rab 'bum sde sil bur rkyang bshad mdzad/ |
| rma lo g.yu lo g.yung drung dgu brtsegs ri la gshegs/ | rmo lo g.yu lo g.yung drung dgu rtse ri la gshegs/ | rma lo g.yu lo g.yung drung dgu [f.103a] rtseg ri la gsheg% |
| de nas gto bu dpyad bus lo drug klog bshad mdzad/ | de nas gtod bu dpyad bu lo drug klogs bshad mdzad/ | de nas gto bu dpyad bus lo drug klog bshad mdzad/ |
| gto rgyud gto rab g.yu lo ljon shing bshad/ | gto [f.103a] rgyu gtor rab g.yu lo ljon shing … bshad/ | gto rgyud gto rab g.yu lo brjon shing bshad/ |
| de nas nyi zer rta la zhon/ | de nas nyi zer rta la zhon/ | de nas nyi zer rta la zhon nas rga ldan lha'i gnas su gsheg/ |
| dga' ldan lha'i gnas nas gshegs/ | dga' ldan lha'i gnas la gshegs/ | |
| de nas lung 'dren rgyud 'dren ston pas bshad/ | de nas lo drug lung 'dren rgyun 'dren ston pa | de nas lo drug lung 'dren rgyud 'dren ston pa |

| | mdo'/ | mdzad |
|---|---|---|
| a dkar sngags rgyud mdo 'grel bshad/ | a dkar sngags rgyu mda' 'grel bshad/ | a dkar sngag rgyud mdo 'grel bshad/ |
| 'og min lha'i gnas su gshegs/ | 'og min lha'i gnas su gshegs/ | 'og men lha'i gnas su gshegs/ |
| de nas 'khrul bu rkong bus klog bshad mdzad/ | de nas 'phrul bu rkong bu lo drug klogs bshad mdzad/ | de nas 'phrul bu rkong bus lo drug klog bshad mdzad/ |
| de nas rtsis dang lha rgyud mdo sbyar bshad/ | kang rtses…dang lha rgyu mdo' sbyor bshad/ | kong tse rtsis dang lha rgyud mdo sbyar bshad/ |
| de nas sum cu rtsa gsum gshegs/ | de nas sum bcu rtsa gsum gshegs/ | de nas sum bcu rtsa 3 gsheg/ |
| ston pa 'das rjes lo ni nyi shu rtsa brgyad nas/ | ston pa 'das rje lo ni nyi shu rtsa brgyad do/ | ston pa 'das rjes lo nyi shu rtsa brgyad na/ |
| lha bon yongs su dag pa dang/ | lha bon yongs su dag pa dang/ | [f.103b] lha bon yongs su dag pa dang/ |
| klu bon ye shes snying po dang/ | klu bon ye shes snying po dang/ | klu bon ye shes snying po dang/ |
| rgyal ni mi lus bsam legs dang/ | rgyal ni mi lus bsam legs kyi/ | rgyal bon mi lus bsam leg kyi/ |
| bon rnams 'ol mo'i gling du 'byung/ | bon rnam 'ol mo gling du byon/ | bon rnams 'ol mo gling du byung% |
| ston pa [233] 'khor ba mya ngan 'das rjes la/ | ston pa mya ngan 'das rje la/ | ston pa mya ngan 'das rjes la/ |
| 'ol mo lung du bon rnams 'dus zhes gsungs so/ | 'ol mo lung ring bon rnam 'dus ces gsung pa'o/ | 'ol mo gling du bon rnams 'dus zhes gsung pa'o/ |
| de nas 'ol mo lung du bka' dang rjes su bstan pa'i bon/ | de nas 'ol mo lung ring gi bka' dang/<br>rjes su bstan pa'i bon/ | 卍 % de nas 'ol mo lung gi bka' dang rjes su bstan pa'i bon/ |
| lo tsa drug gis g.yung drung lha'i skad las/ | lo tsa drug gi g.yung drung lha skal la/ | lo tsa drug gi g.yung drung lha skad las/ |
| rang rang yul du skad rig so sor bsgyur/ | rang rang yul du [f.103b] skad rigs so so bsgyur/ | rang rang yul du skad rig so sor bsgyur/ |
| der sta zig [stag gzig] lo tsa mu tra he dang// | der stag gzig lo tsa mu tsa tra tsa he dang/ | de yang da zig mu tsa tra he dang |
| zhang zhung khri thogs spar tsha dang/ | zhang zhung khri tog spar tsa dang/ | zhang zhung khri tog par tsa dang/ |
| sum pa 'gu ling spar ma dang/ | su pa ghu hi li spar lig dang/ | sum pa 'gu' hi li spar leg dang/ |

| rgya gar lha bdag sngags grol dang/ | rgya gar lha bdag sngags drogs dang/ | rgya kar lha bdag sngag dro dang/ |
|---|---|---|
| rgya nag leg tang rmang po dang/ | rgya nag legs tong rmangs po dang/ | rgya nag leg tang [f.104a] rmang pa dang/ |
| phrom la gser thog lce 'byams dang/ | phrom la gser thogs lce 'byams mo/ | phrom la gser thog lce 'byam mo/ |
| de nas bod du rgyal phran bcu gnyis ring/ | de nas rgyal phran bcu gnyis ring/ | de nas bod du rgyal phran bcu 2 ring/ |
| bod kyi mkhas pa mi bzhi la brgyud/ | bod gyi mkhas pa bzhi la rgyud/ | bod gyi mkhas pa 4 la brgyud/ |
| lde bon gyim tsha rma chung dang/ | ldem gyim tsha rma chung dang/ | lde gyim tsa rma chung dang/ |
| mi nyag lce tsha mkhar bu dang/ | mi nyag lce tsa gar (mkhar) bu dang/ | me nyag lce tsa mkhar bu dang/ |
| sum pa mu spung gsang dang/ | sum pa mu yag gsang thang dang/ | sum pa mu spang gsal dang dang/ |
| zhang zhung stong rgyung mthu chen no/ | zha zhung stong rgyung mthun chen | zhang zhung stong rgyung mthu chen no/ |
| bod la bon gyis 'du gnas su(m) bcu rtsa bdun 'phel// // | bon la mkhas pa bon gyi 'dus gnas sum bcu rtsa bdun 'phel/ | bod la bon gyi 'dug gnas sum rtsa bdun 'phel/ |
| de nas ston [234] pa'i bstan pa mtha' rgyas so/ | | de ltar ston pa'i bstan pa mtha' rgyas so/ / |
| g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo 'dus pa rin po che las/ ston pa mya ngan las 'das pa'i bon/ le'u ste nyi shu bzhi pa'o/ | g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo' 'dus pa rin po che rgyud las/ ston pa mya ngan 'das pa le'u ste nyi shu rtsa bzhi pa'o/ | g.yung drung lha'i bon mdo 'dus pa rin po che rgyud las/ ston pa mya ngan las 'das pa'i le'u ste/ nyi shu rtsa 4 pa'o/ 卍 % |

**3.2: Selected passage from the *mDo 'dus* and the *gZer mig***

The following passage from the *gZer mig* (in column 2; see the underlined passages for the parrallels) presents the same story as appears in the *mDo 'dus* (in column 1), but in a much extended version. This is just one example to show how the life story of Shenrab Miwo was elaborated and adjusted in the *gZer mig*, which, partly therefore, I presume to be the later source.

| *mDo 'dus* (chapter viii) | *gZer mig* (chapter ii) |
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| [p. 55] 'dzam gling nub byang phyog 'ol mo lungs su/ yab myes gdung rgyud dmu'i rigs/ myes dmu rgyal lan kyis thems pa skas/ phya a lde khyab pa'i sras mo ni/ phya za ngang 'brang ma la ni/ sras me bon lha bon rgyal bon thod dkar 'khrungs/ de'i 'phrul gshen snang ldan la// gto rgyud spyad rgyud mkhas par bslab/ mtsho mu lo stong ldan 'gram nas ni/ yab ni rgyal pos sa la dang/ yum ni btsun mo ghir ti ma/ sras ni rgyal bu gsal khyab mtshan/ sras mo gsal ba'i 'od ldan mo/ rgyal bon thod dkar btsun mor byin/ mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi rgyal bzhad ma ru thogs/ | [p.14] yul de'i ming ni 'ol mo lung rings/ mkhar de'i mying ni par po so brgyad/ gsas mkhar de'i ming ni sham po lha rtse/ gnas de'i ming ni 'dzam bu gling gi mig bya ste/ mi la rigs bzhi mchis pa la/ rgyal po'i rigs su gtogs pa che ba dang/ rje'i rigs su gtogs pa gtsang ba dang/ bram ze'i rigs su gtog pa btsun pa dang/ dmangs kyi rigs su gtog pa gdol pa dang bzhi'o// yul de na kun ka tshang yang/ mkhar de yi rtse rje ni/ rus pa ni dma'o (＝dmu)// rigs ni rgyal rigs so/ ming ni dmu rgyal lan gyi thim pa skas so// skyes bu chen por bzhugs pas/ rab tu sems nyid klod na bde/ 'gro ba'i don la byon pas/ sems can la bu gcig pha ltar byams pa/ de'i btsun mo ni/ phywa a lde khyab pa'i sras mo/ phywa bza' ngang 'brang ma bgyis te/ de yang yab dang mtshungs te/ shin tu ngag 'jam zhing rab tu khong dal ba/ sems can skye 'gro la byams pa'i sems dang ldan no// yab yum de gnyis kyis 'gro ba'i don la dgongs nas sku'i sprul pa/ dpyid zla ra ba'i tshes brgyad la/ sras rgyal bu gcig sku 'khrungs so// 'khrungs pa'i dus der sems can thams cad kyang spro ba skyes nas/ la la yis sel btab/ la la yis khrus byas/ la la yis g.yang blan/ la la yis lha gsol/ zhang po phywa kha rje thang po yis/ dung gi gnam yol dkar po la/ 'brug khyung gi ris bkra ba / nyi zla'i 'od 'bar ba/ mda' gang ba dbu la bcings nas/ smon lam btab pa/ dmu rgyal kyi sras rgyal bu khyod kyang/ lha srin sde brgyad la bka' brtsan cing/ skye 'gro sems can [p.15] gyi don nus par shog cig/ gsungs so// rgyal bu de yang yab yum |

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| | dang mtshungs par/ shin tu khong dal zhing rab tu ngag 'jam pa/ bram ze'i bu/ gsal khyab 'od ldan gyis mtshan brtags pas kyang/ shing tu mtshan bzang zhing/ rab tu yang khong dal bar bcad/ ming dang mtshan yang/ mi bon lha bon yo bon na/ rgyal bon thod dkar tu btags/ slob dpon 'phrul gshen dar drag la/ 'phrul ngag bden pa'i bon bslabs nas/ gto rgyud smrang rgyud sa ler mkhyen/ dus de tsam na/ rgyal bu de'i gdung sob pa/ brten pa'i btsun mo zhig ma mchis na/ stong khams su btsal bas ma rnyed do// der dgung lo bcu gsum lon na/ lha srin 'thab pa'i gzu mdzad cing bzhugs na/ 'khor gyi dam pa zhig mi gnyis kyis rgyal bu la zhal mjal zer nas/ 'phrin snyan du zhus pas/ rgyal bu yang bzhengs nas/ mi gnyis kyi drung du bzhud do// mi gnyis kyis kyang zhe sa lugs bzhin du phul nas/ rgyal bu la 'di skad ces zhus so/ kye rgyal bu lags/ bdag cag gnyis ni mi pha spad lags so// yul ni mtsho mu le stong ldan had kyi 'gram na lags so// khyim ni grong khyer lang ling gi dbus nas mchis so/ rgyal bu dang zhal mjal ba ni/ khab kyi btsun mo zhig rgyal khams na sgra gtong zhing btsal gda' bas ma rnyed mchis na/ bdag gi rigs ni dmangs rigs lags na yang/ rgyal bu'i btsun mor rung ba'i bu mo khyad par du 'phags pa gcig bdog pas/ rgyal bu'i btsun mor 'bul du mchis na/ bka' gnang 'tshal/ de skad ces rgyal bu la gsol bas/ rgyal bu'i spyan gyis gzigs pas kyang spyan ma bltams/ thugs kyi dgongs pas kyang [p.16] yid ma rangs/ mi gnyis po la 'di skad ces bka' stsal to/ e ma ya mtshan e re che/ pha ni g.yas zhar/ bu ni g.yon 'theng/ rigs ni dmangs rigs yin/ khyod la nga'i khab tu bzhes su rung ba'i bu mo skye ba'i lugs med kyi/ mi'i drung du de skad ma zer cig ngo tsha'o/ khyod la bu mo khyad par can zhig yod na/ dbyar zla ra ba'i tshes bco lnga la/ bdag grong khyer lang ling du gshegs nas/ mtsho mu le stong ldan la/ sku khrus byed du phyin tsam na/ grong khyer lang ling gi mi rnams kyis mdun bsus nas/ la la ni skor ba byed/ la la ni lha phyag byed/ la la ni me tog 'bul/ la la ni ltad mo byed/ khyod kyi khyad par can de gang na 'dug/ shin tu tshod chung ba'i mi gnyis snang gis/ rab tu gsang dam du gyis la/ phyir chos shig nga'i 'khor pas thos na/ bkyon 'bebs par 'gyur ro/ gsungs nas rgyal bu yang bzhengs nas bzhud do/ |

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| | mi gnyis po yang yi chad nas song ngo/ der lha srin sde brgyad kyi gtso bo dang/ 'khor ba rnams kyi mchid nas/ rgyal bu lags/ gtam re mang ba'i mi de gnyis su lags/ ci la mchis/ rgyal bu yang shin tu ngo tsha bar gyur nas/ rdzu na bsams nas bka' stsal ba/ mi de gnyis shin tu nyon mongs pa'i bram ze gya nyes pa gnyis gda'o/ bdag la nan skyed nas rdzas slong du 'ongs nas/ byas su sbyin rgyu ma mchis na/ khyim du shog cig par dus stsal lo//de nas lha srin sde brgyad kyi sdums mdzad nas/ slar 'ol mo lung rings su gshegs so/ yab la 'di skad ces gsol to/ bdag gis lha srin sde brgyad kyi sdums bgyis nas/ sa de ru shin tu pra ngan pa zhig dang [p.17] mjal/ mi spad gnyis yin zer ba'i pha g.yas zhar ba/ bu g.yon 'theng ba de'i mchid nas/ yul ni mtsho mu le stong ldan had kyi 'gram lags so/ khyim ni grong khyer lang ling gi dbus na mchis so/ rigs ni dmangs kyi rigs su gtogs so/ rgyal bu la khab mi mnga' bas/ bdag gi bu mo btsun mor 'bul zer ba zhig byung bas/ 'di ci lags/ bdag ni shin tu ngo tsha nas/ 'khor kyi dam pa rnams la gsang nas/ yab la zhus pa lags so/ yab kyi zhal nas/ phe sha mi srid pa ma yin no/ lha'i bu ltung ba yang srid do/ dmyal ba'i bu thar pa yang srid do/ rgyal po dmangs su babs pa yang srid do/ dmangs kyis rgyal sa 'dzin pa yang srid do/ mi de gnyis ni pra ngan pa ma lags so/ g.yas zhar ba ni ngan song gi sgo 'gog pa lags so/ g.yon 'theng ba ni 'gro ba'i don byed pa lags so/ gnyen mtho ba la gdags zer ba ni/ mtho ris thar pa'i rtsal yod pa lags so/ bdag gis kyang rgyal po'i gdung rgyud gces nas/ rgyal bu la btsun mo gcig rgyal khams la rmang btang nas btsal bas ma rnyed do/ de lta bu ni mi srid pa'i chos can ma lags so/ srid pa'i chos can lags so/ da yang rgyal bu mtsho la khrus byed du gshegs tsam na/ grong khyer lang ling du yongs kyis rtsad gcod pa'i rigs yin no/ yab kyis de skad ces bka' bstsal pas/ rgyal bus kyang mnos pas/ de ltar lags par dgongs te/ rgyal bu nyid dang 'khor ba rnams dang/ rol mo kun gyi bcas ni/ sku khrus kyi dus su thug pas/ gzabs nas mdzad cing bzhugs so/ slad ma dmangs mi gnyis ni/ khyim du slar phyin na/ khyim [p.18] bdag mos dris pa/ lha srin sde brgyad kyi mdun sar/ khyed spad gnyis kyis phyin nam/ rgyal bu thod dkar dang zhal mjal |

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| | lam/ bu mo btsun mor 'bul ba grub bam/ de skad ces dris pas/ phyir lan btab pa/ bdag cag gis/ lha srin sde brgyad kyi mdun sar mchis so/ rgyal bu thod dkar dang zhal yang mjal lo/ bu mo 'bul ba'i mchid tshig zhus na'ng/ rgyal pos ma gnang ste bka' stsal ba/ pha ni g.yas zhar/ bu ni g.yon 'theng/ rigs ni dmangs rigs su gtogs so/ khyod la nga'i khab tu bzhes su rung ba'i bu mo zhig mi skyes nges kyi/ shin tu tshod chung ba'i mi gnyis snang gis/ rab tu gsang dam par gyis la songs shig gsungs nas/ rgyal bu yang bzhengs nas mdun sar bzhud do/ bdag cag gnyis kyang langs nas mchis/ yi mug ga chad 'bub cing nongs nas da lta mchis pa lags/ de skad ces gsol pa dang/ ma ni bu mo dbul bar ma grub pas ngus so/ bu mo ni rgyal bu'i mnga' tshig la ngo mtshar skyes nas rgod do/ pha ni thang chad nas 'khun no/ bus smras pa/ bud med bya ba las kyi srin mo yin/ chags pa'i gzhi ma che bas 'dre yi rigs su gtogs/ zhen pa'i 'dod chags drag pas mngal gyi grong khyer brgyud/ rgyal bu mag par thob pa shin tu dka'/ bu mo dmangs la byin na rab tu btsun/ ma ngu ma rgod za chu snyur la gyis/ de skad ces smras pa dang/ bu'i gros la bsdus so/ nang par pha na re/ dmangs la shor gyis dogs nas bco lnga khang par sbas/ rgyal po'i khab tu phul bas mngan mtshang phyir la rdzogs/ sba'am ci bgyis thang la dbyung bar rigs/ 'dod pa'i 'byung na thad ka ma la [p.19] sbyin/ bu mos smras pa/ kye yab cig lags/ 'tshong du song na rin chen gser yang lon/ bu mo 'phral tshong byas na ga na lon/ rgyal po'i khab bas dmangs kyang mi 'dod nges/ bco lnga sba ru rung na zla gcig ngang re thung/ dgung zla phyi ma'i nya la rgyal bu khrus la 'byon/ de la steng gi lha dang 'og gi klu dang bar gyi mi rnams 'tshogs/ bdag kyang de la ltad mo lta ru mchi/ de yi gong du de skad yab cig bka' ma stsal/ bu mos de skad ces smras pas/ yab yum gyis kyang de ltar gros kyis bcad do//<br>de nas rgyal bu yang nyid dang 'khor ba dang rol mo'i chas rdzogs pas/ 'jig rten gyi khams lho phyogs kyi gling/ mtsho mu le stong ldan had kyi 'gram du sku khrus la gshegs so/ 'khor pa mang pos kyang la la ni sel btab/ la la ni khrus gsol/ la la ni tshan gtor/ la la ni glud gtong/ la la ni phywa ldon/ la la ni g.yang skyob/ la la ni rnga brdung/ la la ni gshang dkrol/ la la ni |

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| | dung ‘bud/ la la ni spos gtul/ la la ni dar phyar ro/ steng gi lha dang/ ‘og gi klu dang/ bar gyi mi rnams kyang/ la la ni rol mo bsgyur/ la la ni lha phyag ‘tshal/ la la ni bskor ba byed/ la la ni me tog ‘bul/ shing rta ‘khor lo brgyad pa la ni bcibs/ stag dang g.yag dang seng ge dang/ glang po che rnams kyis phyogs bzhi’i mtha’ mnan nas gshegs so/ grong khyer la sku bcags nas/ lang ling phog gsum bskor ba’i phyi tha ma la/ rgyal bu grong khyer gyi dbus su gzigs nas/ gsungs phyungs nas lhag lhag bzhad do/ ‘khor gyi dam pa bram ze gsal khyab ‘od ldan gyis zhus pa/ steng gi lha dang ‘og gi klu dang bar gyi mi rnams [p.20] kyis/ mdzes pa’i rol mo bsgyur zhing/ gus pa’i zhabs ‘breng bgyis kyang/ shin tu thugs ma rangs par/ zhal gyi ‘dzum pa mi mdzad na/ grong khyer gyi dbus su gzigs nas lhag lhag tu bzhad pa de/ ngo mtshar du che ba ci gzigs/ de skad ces gsol bas/ rgyal bus bka’ stsal ba/ ‘khor gyi dam pa bram ze gsal khyab ‘od ldan/ grong khyer lang ling gi dbus/ mkhar skya bo’i rtse mo la/ khyad par du ‘phags pa’i bud med cig snang ngo/ mi’i mi bu klu’i sras mo zhig yin nam/ klu’i mi sras nam mkha’i lha mo zhig yin nam/ de la ngo mtshar skyes nas rgod pa yin no/ bram zes shing rta’i zur nas bltas pas/ grong khyer kyi dbus kyi mkhar rtse la/ bud med ‘dug pa mthong nas/ rgyal bu lags gsungs pa med do/ sems can phyi ma dang khyad par yod pa zhig gda’o/ rgyal po’i khab tu bzhes na yang ngo mtshar du che ba zhig gda’o/ phyi’i mtshan brtags pas kyang/ zla ba la nyi ma shar ba ‘dra bas/ nyi ‘bar ma bya ba’i rigs shig lags so/ nyi ma la zla ba shar ba ‘dra bas/ zla ‘od ma bgyi ba’i rigs shig lags so/ gzha’ tshon la skar ma bkod pa ‘dra bas/ zer ‘phrom bgyi ba’i rigs shig lags so/ nam mkha’ la gzha’ tshon shar ba ‘dra bas/ ‘ja’ ‘khyug ma bgyi ba’i rigs shig lags so/ mtshan kyang shin tu bzang ba zhig gda’o/ ‘khor ba thams cad kyang/ shing rta yang ma drongs/ sgra dang gzugs kyi rol mo kun yang ‘phro chod la/ der bzhugs shig/ bdag gis mkhar gyi rtsar phyin la/ bud med pha’i rtsad gcod bgyi zer nas/ shing rta las bram ze babs nas song ngo/ mkhar gyi rtsar phyin [p.21] nas ‘di skad ces smras so/ mkhar gyi rtse la ‘dug pa’i bu mo/ khyod kyi pha ni gang yin/ ma ni gang yin/ khyod ni |

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| | gang yin/ rigs ni gang du gtogs zhes glengs pas/ bu mos lan ma btab par phyir 'das te song ngo/ bram zes grong khyer gyi mi rnams la dris pas kyang/ mi rnams na re/ pha ni sa la/ ma ni 'gir te/ bu ni gsal khyab/ bu mo ni snga na de lta bu ma mchis so// de nas bram zes slar log nas/ rgyal po la de skad ces gsol to/ rgyal po'i zhal nas/ nga mtsho la khrus byar 'gro yis/ khyod 'dir 'dug la/ pha ming dang 'phrod la// dmangs kyis ma brlabs kyin/ shin tu mtshan bzang na/ khab tu bzhes kyis/ chad nyeg gyis la shog/ gsungs nas rgyal po mtsho la khrus byar gshegs so/ bram ze yang mkhar gyi rtsar phyin nas mkhar bdag sgor shog ces bos pas/ khye'u 'theng po gcig byung nas/ bram ze khab tu gshegs zer/ der khyim du phyin nas bltas pas bu mo de'i 'od ni rin po che sna lnga'i 'od du 'bar zhing snang ngo/ bram ze yang chags pa skyes nas myos so/ bza' mi rnams kyis zas skom bda' rgu drangs so/ bram ze yis gsol ba/ khyod kyi bu mo 'di/ shin tu mtshan dang ldan pas/ dmangs kyis ma brlabs na/ rgyal bu'i khab tu dbul dgos so/ de skad ces smras pas/ phas lan btab pa/ brams ze rgad po khyod kyang ci mi gsungs/ bdag gi bu mo rgyal pos mi bzhed des/ lha srin sde brgyad mdun sar phul bas/ mngan mtshang slar la rdzogs/ bus smras pa/ dmangs kyis rgyal po'i zhabs nas theg pa rab tu dka'/ rgyal [p.22] po'i bka' yis smras na dbang rgyu med/ bram se'i khas blangs yin na kha las che/ mas smras pa/ rgyal pos bzhed na ci ste mi dbul lags/ bram ze grub na rab mchog rgyal ba yin/ bdag cag 'khor ba rnams kyang zhabs tog bgyi/ dus la bab po bram ze skyes bu rem/ bu mos smras pa/ rgyal bu grong khyer zhabs kyis 'chag tsam na/ lha dang klu dang mi la sogs pa ni/ 'khor ba rab tu rgya che grangs mang yang/ rgyal bu'i zhal zla mdzad pa'i bram ze rgad po lags/ snying nas bka' yis rmed na pha ma rgyal sar phyungs/ 'os pa tsam na bram ze zhal gron che/ de skad ces smras pas/ bu mo'i gros la bsdus nas/ bram ze yang langs nas song ngo/ bram zes rgyal bu'i spyan sngar mchis nas/ 'di skad ces gsol to/ kye rgyal bu lags/ bdag gis de ring gi mkhar de'i nang du mchis so/ bu mo de'i pha ming dang yang zhal mjal lo/ gtugs nas mtshan yang brtags so/ bu mo ni shin tu skye legs pa la/ mtshan dang rab tu ldan pa gcig gda'o/ rgyal po'i |

| | |
|---|---|
| | khab tu dbul dgos bgyis na/ ma ni shin tu yang drang bar gda'o/ pha ming gnyis ni shin tu yang mi drang ngo/ sngon du yang lha srin gyi mdun sar phul bas/ slar la mngan bgrangs mchis nas yi chad nas gda'o/ bu mo nyid kyis smras pa/ snying nas bka' yis rmed na pha ma rgyal sar phyungs mchid nas gda'o/ da rgyal bu'i thugs la ci ltar dgongs/ de skad ces bram zes gsol to/ rgyal bu bzhad nas gong rol du yang de lta bu zhig yod pas/ da ni de yin yang/ gnyen zla ngan na rang cag dmas pa yin/ rgyal sar dbyung bar gros kyis rbad kyis chod/ bu [p.23] mo dmangs kyis brlabs na bdag dang 'grogs dbang med/ pha ma do mod rgyal sar phyungs la nang par dbul gros gyis/ de skad ces gsungs nas rgyal bu yang sngon gyi mngan la gnong nas/ rgyal bu 'bros thabs su bzhud par gros kyis bcad do/ 'khor pa rnams/ blon po'i tshogs dang/ dmag mi'i tshogs dang/ rol mo'i tshogs rnams phyed phyed bgos nas/ rgyal bu 'ol mo lung rings su gshegs so/ bram ze dang 'drong ba rnams ni grong khyer lang ling du gshegs so/ rgyal bu yang 'ol mo lung rings su phyin nas/ sang gi nyin mo la btsun mo 'ong bar yab la zhus so/ yab yum yang dgyes nas/ sna gcog pa'i bon po/ g.yang ldon pa'i bon po/ dmu thag 'dogs pa'i bon po/ zhal dro ster ba'i grogs po rnams spyan drangs so/ yul de'i mi rnams kyang/ ltad mo blta ba dang sun ma ba la rab tu gzengs so/ de nas bram ze gsal khyab 'ongs nas/ grong khyer lang ling gi mi rnams la/ sgra btang nas mdun ma bsdus so/ de nas 'di skad ces smras so/ kwa mi rnams <u>sa la ni rgyal por phyungs ba lags so/ 'gir ti ni rgyal mor phyungs pa lags so/ gsal khyab ni rgyal bur phyungs pa lags so/ bu mo ni rgyal po la khab tu phul ba lags so</u>/ blon po dang dmag mi khyod rnams ni/ rgyal po sa la'i rgyal rkyen du phul ba lags so/ mi khyod rnams kyis kyang zhabs nas theg cig/ sang gi gdugs la bu mo rgyal po la 'bul bas/ khyod rnams kyang zhabs 'breng dang sku rkyen la chas dgos so/ de skad ces smras pas/ grong khyer lang ling gi mi rnams [p.24] 'dus nas gros byas nas/ rgyal po'i bkas bcad pas/ sa la'i zhabs thog bgyi bar bcad do/ bu mo la yang rdzongs btab la zhabs 'breng dang skyel ma yang bgyi bar bcad do/ bram ze la yang de skad ces gsol to/ rgyal po sa las kyang/ srid pa'i bon po spyan |

| | |
|---|---|
| | drangs nas/ ming sing gi dpal bgos so/ phywa g.yang blan nas lha gsol lo/ grong khyer gyi mi rnams kyis kyang/ skra tshar re la g.yu 'phreng re btags so/ brams zes bag ma'i zhon rta ni/ gser gyi shing rta 'khor lo bzhi pa zhig la bskyon/ dar dang za 'og gi sbubs su bcug nas/ grong khyer gyi mi rnams kyis dpyad pas/ mi rnams kyang 'od kyis 'tshig pa kan 'dra'o/ grong khyer gyi mi khye'u srid la mkhas po bya bas/ rgyal po la snyan phra gsol te/ rgyal po lags/ khyod kyi sras mo 'di ni gnas 'di ru skyes pa/ yab yum ni a cang yang ches te/ bdag cag rnams kyi yang bsod nams lags so/ rin gyi babs shig ma phab par gtong du phongs pa zhig gda' na/ rgyal sar phyin pa ni rab tu yang bzang ste/ rin du rin po che glang po che brgya'i khal dbab 'tshal lo/ mi'i rgyal pos rin ma theg na/ lha klu'i rgyal po zhig la phul na ni/ bdag cag grong khyer mi rnams tsam yang rgyas sar sleb par nges/ de skad ces gsol bas/ rgyal po sa la yang mnyes nas/ khye'u srid la mkhas pos smras pa de ni shin tu legs so/ gsungs nas/ bram ze la bka' stsal pa/ bdag gi bu mo 'di lha dang klu'i rgyal po zhig la phul na ni/ grong khyer mi rnams kyang rgyal sar phyin te mchi na/ rin gyi bbas chung bas/ rin po che glang po che brgya'i khal sbyin dgos/ ces bka' [p.25] bstsal bas/ bram zes slar gsol ba/ bag ma rta la zhon nas rin 'bebs e re 'phyi/ dmangs rigs rgyal sar phyungs pa rin gyi dam pa yin/ mi lus gtsang ma thob pa'i rgyal po ni/ lha klu'i rgyal po bas kyang sku yi bsod nams che/ rgyal srid rin po che yi dkor mdzod na/ rin chen nyid kyang chu yi gram pa 'dra/ grong khyer mi rnams tsam yang phyug por 'gro ba'i nor/ ban glang brgya'i khal du rin chen sna lnga bkal/ grong khyer mi rnams dag la skur la gtong/ zer nas khas blangs so// de nas grong khyer gyi mi rnams kyi/ khye'u chung gtsang ma dang/ bu mo gtsang ma rnams kyis skyel ma byas te/ rgyal po la 'bul du gshegs so/ der 'ol mo lung rings kyi sa skas gcig la phyin tsam na/ dmangs rigs kyi khye'u gtsang ma dang bu mo gtsang ma brgya yis/ dar dkar gyi g.yab mos bsu'o/ de nas yang sa skas gnyis la phyin tsam na/ rje rigs kyi khye'u gtsang ma dang bu mo gtsang ma brgya yis/ mtshal spos kyi dud pas bsu'o/ de nas yang sa skas gsum pa la phyin tsam na/ bram ze'i rigs kyi |

| | |
|---|---|
| | khye'u gtsang ma dang/ bu mo gtsang ma rnams kyis sku khrus dang gtsang chen gyis bsu'o/ de nas sne'u 'phrang khyung phyi ru/ bkra shis kyi sna bon pos/ bdud ni gcod do/ sri ni mnan no/ byur ni phud do/ 'dre ni bkar ro/ lha ni gsol lo/ dpal ni bskyabs so/ de nas rgyal rigs kyi mi rnams kyis/ g.yang cha sna tshogs pa thogs nas bsu'o/ de nas rin po che 'bar ba'i mkhar/ bar po so brgyad kyi nang du phyin nas/ bag ma'i ming yang lha bon pos mi phyi lha phyi na/ yo phyi rgyal bzhad mar btags nas/ g.yu [p.26] khri sngon po la bzhag go/ gser khri ser po la/ mi bon lha bon na/ rgyal bon thod dkar/ spyan drangs nas bzhugs so/ de nas smon lam lhas btab/ zhal dro klus byin/ dmu thag dmus btags/ phywa g.yang phywas blan/ de ltar stangs dang dpyal du 'tshogs so// |

### 3.3. Transliteration of the excerpts from other Bon historical sources

***'Dul ba gling grags,*** [p. 118] gshen lha thugs kyi sprul pa las/ 'od smug dmar ba cig dmu ri smug po'i rtse la babs/ rin po che'i mi la 'od dkar ma tsam cig babs/ de la mtshan btags pa/ mes po dmu phyug skyir mzhon de dang lha za gangs grags gshos pa las/ dmu btsan bzher gyi rgyal po/ de dang phya lcam rgyal mor bshos pa las/ dmu btsan rgyal po/ de dang rim nam rgyal mor bshos pa las/ dmu rgyal yan gyi thems skras/ de dang lha sa 'phrul mor bshos pa las/ dmu rgyal thod dkar/ de'i tshe de'i dus na/ gshen gsang ba 'dus pas/ lha'i bu dri med dag pa bya bar sku sprul nas/ rdzogs sku gshen lha 'od kar la 'gro ba 'dul ba'i lung gnos/ 'bum khri klog gi lce can la sha re ra ba rnam gsum blo rtsal sbyangs/ srid pa 'gyur med rtsug phud la/ mi rjed gzungs kyi dbang gsum gnos/ srid pa legs ldan rtsug la/ drag rtsal stobs kyi dbang gsum gnos/ de nas gshen lha'i zhal nas/ ngas long spyod rdzogs pa'i sku las mtho ba/ khyed kyis cir yang sprul pa'i sku bya ba thob pas/ sa ga dog drug [p. 119] tu 'gro ba'i don la bzhud cig/ rigs rtsang ma rgyal rigs gra ma la sprul la gshegs cig/ ces gsungs nas lung stan nas yid ma gi gsung ma bcag par/ gzigs tshad dgos tshad kye nas ri rab kyi rtse la byon/ snang srid lha ma srin sde rgyad dam la btags/ gnam yen bar yen sa yen 'khor dang po dbus tha ma gsum du dam la btags/ de nas ston pa dri med dag pas sku g.yu bya khu byug tu sprul nas 'od zer sna lnga'i lam la byon/ yul stag zig gi yul 'ol mo lung rings/ mkhar sham po sad rtse/ yab rgyal bon thod dkar/ yum rgyal gzhad ma la dgongs nas sku skye ba bzhes/

***lTa ba khyung chen,*** [p.4] 'then dgu 'od kyi snyig ma la/ rgyal po dmu phyug skye rab bzhags/ rgyal po sangs kyi gdung 'dzin pa/ [5] thar byed stobs kyi rgyal po ru/ dmu rgyal lam pa phya dkar bzhag/ …… dmu rgyal phya dkar gdung 'dzin du/ dmu rgyal btsan pa gyer chen bzhag/ dmu rgyal de yi gdung 'dzin du/ rgyal po thog rje btsan pa bzhag/ dmu rgyal de yi gdung 'dzin du/ dmu rgyal lan gyi them skas bzhag/ dmu rgyal de yi gdung [6] 'dzin du/ srid pa kun la grogs byed pa'i/ rgyal bon thod dkar gdung du bzhag/

***Khyung 'bum gong ma,*** [f.2a] yang ba de'i 'o rol du/ lha chen dung myi lha gar la/ bdud lan pa skyin reng dgra ru langs/ lha chen dung myi lha gar gis/ lha bon thod gar spyan yang drangs/ yul ni lha yul gun 'thang 3/ phrul ni lha 4 kar po bsten/ lha nan sngon mo [f.2b] bcas du drangs/ lha mta' li dmar brten du brtsug/ lha khams 'dul pa'i bya rtang bgyog/ 4 ma sten pa'i yon tan gis/ dung myi lha gar g.yas su rgyal/ 4 ma brten pa'i mthuobsi (mthu stobs gis)/ lan pa skyin reng g.yub ba phong/

# Appendix 4: Transcription of Names

## A) Personal names

| **Phonological transcription** | **Tibetan transliteration** |
|---|---|
| Ade Khyapa | A lde khyab pa |
| Antse Lenme | An tse lan med |
| Awadara (*dmu* King) | A ba da ra (dmu rje) |
| | |
| Barwe Dronmacan | ’Bar ba’i sgron ma can |
| Buton Rinchen Drub | Bu ston rin chen grub |
| | |
| Chebu Trishey | dPyad bu khri shes |
| Chegyal Barti | lCe rgyal bar ti |
| Chime Shen | ’Chi med gshen |
| Chodrub | Chos grub |
| | |
| Dagpa Togyal Yekhyen | Dag pa gto rgyal ye mkhyen |
| Dangwa Yiring | Dang ba yid ring |
| Dangzangma (*phya* Lady) | Dang bzang ma (phya za) |
| Dewu Josay | lDe’u jo sras |
| Dirgyi Wuton | Dir gyi dBus ston |
| Drachin Donpung | Gra byin don spung |
| Drangnga | Drang nga |
| Drangtsun | Drang btsun |
| Dretsun Mumo | Dre btsun rmu mo |
| Drigum Tsenpo | Gri gum btsan po |
| Drime Tsukphu | Dri med gtsug phud |
| Dulshugchen | rDul shug can |
| Dungkar Saldhen Öpag | Dung dkar gsal ldan ’od dpag |
| Dungmi Lhakar | Dung mi lha dkar |
| Dungmyi Lhagar | Dung myi lha gar |
| Durshen Gyi Mada | Dur shen gyi rma da |
| Durshen Mada | Dur gshen rma da |
| | |
| Galshen Thơuyug | sGal gshen thơu yug |
| Garab Wangchug | dGa’ rab dbang phyug |
| Garse Tsenpo | Gar gsas btsan po |
| Gaton Tsultrim Gyaltsen | sGa ston tshul khrims rgyal mtshan |

| | |
|---|---|
| Gewa Khorwa Kundren | dGe ba 'khor ba kun 'dren |
| Girtima | 'Gir ti ma |
| Goese Khampa | rGod gsas khams pa |
| Guling Mati | 'Gu ling ma ti |
| Gungsang (*phya* King) | Gung sangs (phya rje) |
| Gungyal Ma | dGung rgyal ma |
| Guru Ugyan Lingpa | Gu ru u rgyan gling pa |
| Gya Drongtam Chenpo | rGya 'brong tam chen po |
| Gyachin | brGya byin |
| Gyalag Thoje | rGya lag thod rje |
| Gyalbön Thökar | rGyal bon thod dkar |
| Gyalmema | rGyal med ma |
| Gyaltsen Chogleg | rGyal mtshan mchog legs |
| Gyer / Khoepo Lodoe Thokmay | Gyer / Khod po blo gros thogs med |
| Gyerchen Damay | Gyer chen zla med |
| Gyermi Nyiod | Gyer mi nyi 'od |
| Gyimshang Gongpo | Gyim shang gong po |
| Gyudren | rGyud 'dren |
| | |
| Hadha Nagpo | Ha dha nag po |
| | |
| Jampa Kunshe Thangpo | Byams pa kun shes thang po |
| | |
| Kadama Ser Od | Ka 'da ma gser 'od |
| Karmapa | Kar ma pa |
| Karmo Odmasal | dKar mo 'od ma gsal |
| Karshen The'uzhug | sKar gshen the'u bzhug |
| Kawa Paltseg | Ka ba dpal brtsegs |
| Kengtse | Keng tse |
| Khepa Dewu | mKhas pa lde'u |
| Khyapa Lagring | Kyab pa lag ring |
| Khyungpo Lodoe Gyaltsen | Khyung po blo gros rgyal mtshan |
| Kokhen Tsukphu | sKos mkhan gtsug phud |
| Konchog Dragpa | dKon mchog grags pa |
| Kongje Karpo/Kongpo Karpo | rKong rje dkar po / rKong po dkar po |
| Kongtse Trulgyi Gyalpo | Kong tse 'phrul gyi rgyal po |
| Kongtsha / Yungdrung Wangden | rKong tsha / g.yung drung dbang ldan |
| Kongza Trulgyur | Kong za 'phrul bsgyur |

| | |
|---|---|
| Kundrol Dakpa | Kun grol grags pa |
| Kunshe Drangkhenma | Kun shes drang mkhan ma |
| Kunshe Nyonmong Dugseg | Kun shes nyon mongs dug bsreg |
| Kunshe Thangpo | Kun shes thang po |
| Kunshe Thingpo | Kun shes thing po |
| Kunshema | Kun shes ma |
| Kyi Chugi Jonpa | sKyi pyug gi ʼjon pa |
| Kyimshang | Kyim shang |
| Kyinam Nyagchig | sKyi nam nyag cig |
| | |
| Lamgyi Thempake | Lam gyi thems pa skas |
| Lampa Chakar/Chagkar | Lam pa phya dkar/phyag dkar |
| Langyi Themke | Lan gyi them skas |
| Lankyi Thempake | Lan kyis thems pa skas |
| Legden Gyalwa | Legs ldan rgyal ba |
| Legpa Tseme Thugjechen | Legs pa tshad med thugs rje can |
| Lenpa Kyinreng | Lan pa skyin reng |
| Lhabon Thodgar | Lha bon thod gar |
| Lhabon Thökar | Lha bon thod dkar |
| Lhakpa Tsering | Lhag pa tshe ring |
| Lhalu | Lha lus |
| Lhamo Gangdrag | Lha mo gang grags |
| Lhamo Jamchenma | Lha mo byams chen ma |
| Lhari Nyenpo, Gurzhog | Lha ri gnyen po, Gur zhog |
| Lhaza Gangdrag | Lha za gangs grags |
| Lhaza Gungdrug | Lha za gung drug |
| Lhaza Trulmo | Lha za ʼphrul mo |
| Lishu Tagring | Li shu stag ring |
| Lodoe Gyaltsen | Blo gros rgyal mtshan |
| Lodoe Palzang | Blo gros dpal bzang |
| Lungdren | Lung ʼdren |
| | |
| Mabon Zingkye | sMra bon zing skyes |
| Malo (and) Yulo | rMa lo (dang) g.Yu lo |
| Marpa Phenzang | Mar pa ʼphen bzang |
| Maton Sidzin | sMa ston srid ʼdzin |
| Matsun Trulmo | Ma btsun ʼphrul mo |
| Meton Sherab Ozer | Me ston shes rab ʼod zer |

| | |
|---|---|
| Mibon Lhabon | Mi bon lha bon |
| Michi lhachi yochi | Mi phyi lha phyi yo phyi |
| Mucho Demdrug | Mu cho ldem drug |
| Muchug Kyerab | dMu phyug skye rab |
| Muchug Kyerzhon | dMu phyug skyer gzhon |
| Muchug Kyirzhon | dMu phyug skyir mzhon |
| Mugyal Tsenpo | dMu rgyal btsan po |
| Mutri Seoma | Mu tri gsas 'od ma |
| Mutsen Gyalpo | dMu btsan rgyal po |
| Mutsenzhergyi Gyalpo | dMu btsan bzher gyi rgyal po |
| Muzer Thangmo (*phya* Queen) | Mu zer thang mo (phya btsun) |
| Muzher Gyalpo | dMu bzher rgyal po |
| | |
| Namse Khyungrum | gNam gsas khyung rum |
| Nanam Yeshe De | Sna nam ye shes sde |
| Nangwa Rangjung Thugjechen | sNang ba rang 'byung thugs rje can |
| Ngangdragma | Ngang grags ma |
| Ngangdrangma | Ngang 'brang ma |
| Ngangdrug Legpa | Ngang drug leg(s) pa |
| Ngangringma | Ngang ring ma |
| Ngodub Dagbar | dNgos grub grags 'bar |
| Nyamo Gonpo | Nya mo mgon po |
| Nyatri Tsenpo | gNya' khri btsan po |
| Nyedu Nyelog | sNyed du snyed logs |
| Nyentheng Rengan | gNyan 'theng Re ngan |
| Nyenton Sherab Dorje | gNyan ston shes rab rdo rje |
| Nyenton Sherab Sengge | gNyan ston shes rab seng ge |
| Nyima Tenzin | Nyi ma bstan 'dzin |
| Nyompa Thamche Khyenzig | sNyoms pa thams cad mkhyen gzigs |
| Nyonmong Dugsreg | Nyon mongs dug bsreg |
| | |
| Öbar | 'Od 'bar |
| Oldrug Thangpo | 'Ol drug thang po |
| | |
| Palden Lhamo | dPal ldan lha mo |
| Panglo Lodoe Tenpa | Pang lo blo gros bstan pa |
| Paton Osal Gyaltsen | sPa ston 'od gsal rgyal mtshan |
| Patsun Tengyal Zangpo | sPa btsun bstan rgyal bzang po |

| Phurnagbar | Phur nag ’bar |
|---|---|
| Phurpa Bar | Phur pa ’bar |
| Powu Lagngen | dPơu lag ngan |
| | |
| Rabsal | Rab gsal |
| Rangjung Thugjechen | Rang ’byung thugs rje can |
| Rasang Trinakhod | Ra sangs khri na khod |
| Rimnam Gyalmo | Rim nam rgyal mo |
| | |
| Sai Nyingpo | Sa’i snying po |
| Sala | Sa la |
| Salchog | gSal mchog |
| Salkhyab | gSal khyab |
| Salkhyab Oden | gSal khyab ’od ldan |
| Salwa Chime Tsukphu | gSal ba ’Chi med gTsug phud |
| Salwa Shenrab Miwo | gSal ba gshen rab mi bo |
| Salwe Odenmo | gSal ba’i ’od ldan mo |
| Salwoma | gSal ’od ma |
| Sangpo Trinkhod | Sangs po khrin khod |
| Sangwa Ngangring | gSang ba ngang ring |
| Segu Rinchen Dakpa | Sad gu rin chen grags pa |
| Sejay Mangpo | gSas rje rmang po |
| Seku Ratna / Rinchen | Sad ku ratna / rin chen |
| Shardza Tashi Gyaltsen | Shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan |
| Sharwa Kyadun | Shar ba rkya bdun |
| Shen Khyeuchung | gShen khye’u chung |
| Shenchen Luga | gShen chen klu dga’ |
| Shenlha Okar | gShen lha ’od dkar |
| Shenrab Miwo | gShen rab mi bo |
| Shenrab Myiwo | gShen rab myi bo |
| Shenton Namkha Gyaltsen | gShen ston nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan |
| Shentsha Lungdra | gShen tsha lung sgra |
| Shenza Neuchen | gShen za ne’u chen |
| Shenza Neuchung | gShen za ne’u chung |
| Shepa Yene Sibuchung | Shes pa ye gnas srid bu chung |
| Sherab Loden | Shes rab blo ldan |
| Sherab Sengge | Shes rab seng ge |
| Sije Drangkar | Srid rje ’brang dkar |

| | |
|---|---|
| Songtsen Gampo | Srong btsan sgam po |
| Sumpa Taton | Sum pa rta ston |
| Tagtsha Lama Gyaltsen | sTag tsha bla ma rgyal mtshan |
| Tenma | brTen/brtan ma |
| Thamched Khyenzig | Thams cad mkhyen gzigs |
| Thangmo | Thang mo |
| Thogje Tsenpa | Thog rje btsan pa |
| Thogje Tsunpa | Thog rje btsun pa |
| Thumthum Nalme | Thum thum brnal med |
| Tirgyi Uton | Tir gyi u ston |
| Tisang Rangzhi | Ti sangs rang zhi |
| Tobu Bumsang | gTo bu ʼbum sangs |
| Tochangshe Trulgyi Gyalpo | gTo cang shes ʼphrul kyis rgyal po |
| Togyal Yekhyen | gTo rgyal ye mkhyen |
| Tonpa Shenrab | sTon pa gshen rab |
| Towa Josay Shenrab Gyal | lTo ba jo sras gShen rab rgyal |
| Tramo Triöd | ʼPhra mo khri ’od |
| Tre Gyagar Ratsa | Tre rgya gar ra tsa |
| Tregyal Ratsa | Tre rgyal ra tsa |
| Tricham | Khri lcam |
| Triöd | Khri ’od |
| Trishang | Khri shang |
| Trishe | Khri shes |
| Trisong Deutsen | Khri srong lde’u btsan |
| Tritsun Salmo | Khri btsun gsal mo |
| Trompa Gyen | Khrom pa rgyan |
| Trulbu Chung | ʼPhrul bu chung |
| Trulbuthung | ʼPhrul bu thung |
| Trulgar Gungchu | ʼPhrul mgar gung chu |
| Trulmo (*dmu* Queen) | ʼPhrul mo (dmu btsun) |
| Trulshen Nangden | ʼPhrul gshen snang ldan |
| Tsang Hodei Hosdag | rTsang ho de’i hos bdag |
| Tsenpa Gyerchen | bTsan pa gyer chen |
| Tsepongza | Tshe spong bza’ |
| Tsongkhapa | Tsong kha pa |
| Tshangpa | Tshangs pa |
| Tshemed Thugjechen | Tshad med thugs rje can |
| Tsultrim Gyaltsen | Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan |

| | |
|---|---|
| Tsultrim Palchen | Tshul khrims dpal chen |
| Tulku Loden Nyingpo | sPrul sku blo ldan snying po |
| | |
| Yabla Daldrug | Yab bla bdal drug |
| Yecham Kundragma | Ye lcam kun grag ma |
| Yene Sribu Chung | Ye gnas srid bu chung |
| Yeshe De | Ye shes sde |
| Yeshe Nyingpo De | Ye shes snying pơi sde |
| Yeshen Tsukphu | Ye gshen gtsug phud |
| Yikyi Khyeuchung | Yid kyi khyeʼu chung |
| Yöchi Gyalzhema | Yo phyi rgyal bzhad ma |
| Yungdrung Tsugshen Gyalwa | g.Yung drung gtsug gshen rgyal ba |
| | |
| Zhang Yeshe De | Zhang Ye shes sde |
| Zhuye Legpo | Zhu yas legs po |

B) Names of locations, palaces and other objects

| **Phonological transcription** | **Tibetan Transliteration** |
|---|---|
| Barpo Sogye | Bar po so brgyad |
| Barwa Tsegu | ʼBar ba rtse dgu |
| | |
| Dene Lhundrup | bDe gnas lhun grub |
| Drangngama | Drang nga ma |
| | |
| Gyalag Odma | rGya lag ʼod ma |
| Gyimshang | Gyim shang |
| | |
| Hosmo Lingdrug | Hos mo gling drug |
| | |
| Karnag Trasal | dKar nag bkra gsal |
| Khoma Neuchung | Kho ma Neʼu chung |
| Khyunglung | Khyung lung |
| | |
| Langling | Lang ling |
| Lhari Gyangdo | Lha ri gyang do |
| Lhatse Gukor | Lha rtse dgu bkor |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lhatse Kundzog | Lha rtse kun rdzogs |
| Lhayul Gungthang | Lha yul gung dang |
| Lhundrup Tsegpa | Lhun grub brtsegs pa |
| | |
| Miche Sipa Gungsang | Mi che srid pa gung sangs |
| Mukhyu Dalpa | Mu khyud bdal pa |
| Mule Tongdenhe | Mu le stong ldan had |
| Mulehe | Mu le had |
| | |
| Nyagrong | Nyag rong |
| | |
| Olmo Ling | ʾOl mo gling |
| Olmo Lung | ʾOl mo lung |
| Olmo Lungring | ʾOl mo lung ring |
| | |
| Pema Longchen | Padma klong chen |
| | |
| Sakyapa | Sa skya pa |
| Samye Catima | bSam yas ca ti ma |
| Samye | bSam yas |
| Shampo | Sham po |
| Sipakoe | Srid pa skos |
| | |
| Tashi Tsegpa | bKra shis brtsegs pa |
| Tribuchung | Khri bu chung |
| Trigo Tsegya | Khri sgo rtse brgya |
| Trije | Khri rje |
| Trimon Gyalshay | Khri smon rgyal bzhed |
| Tritang Jampa Ling | Khri tang ʾbyams pa gling |
| Trithang Durtro | Khri thang dur khrod |
| Trulgyur Kopa | ʾPhrul bsgyur bkod pa |
| Tsugrumbar | gTsug rum ʾbar |
| | |
| Walkhyung | dBal khyung |

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IOL TIB J 731: End of the Good Age and tragedy of the horse and yak.

IOL TIB J 734: The age of decline.
IOL TIB J 739: Divination with dice with an introductory note.
Pelliot tibétain 16: Prayers of the foundation of the Dega Yutshal monastery.
Pelliot tibétain 126: A dialogue between the ruler of *dmu* and an envoy of *phywa*, two important clans in the ancient religion.
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Pelliot tibétain 972: [The saying of the tree pronounced by the Buddha].
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Pelliot tibétain 1043: Divination with dice.
Pelliot tibétain 1047: Divination.
Pelliot tibétain 1052: Divination with dice.
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Pelliot tibétain 1071: Law of hunting.
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# SAMENVATTING

**Inleidend gedeelte (Tib. *klad kyi don*)**

David Snellgrove heeft in zijn baanbrekende werk van 1967 (p. 13) terecht naar voren gebracht dat bonpo's alle vormen van Tibetaanse religieuze doctrines en praktijken in zich hebben opgenomen, door sinds hun ontstaan alles te aanvaarden en niets uit te sluiten. Anders dan de beperkte visie op bon van sommige Tibetaans boeddhistische meesters en zelfs van sommige bekende geleerden aan westerse universiteiten, vat Snellgroves beschrijving de aard van de bon traditie accuraat samen, zoals die bestond tot aan het einde van de vorige eeuw. In dit proefschrift laat ik zien hoe bonpo's inderdaad alle doctrines en praktijken aanvaardden die in Tibet aanwezig waren, hetzij uit het boeddhisme, hetzij uit andere tradities. Ik richt me vooral op het ontstaan van de verhalen rond de stichter van de bon religie. Ik probeer enkele kernvragen te beantwoorden, zoals: wie was Shenrab Miwo en waarom wordt hij beschouwd als de stichter van bon? Op welke wijze schiepen de bonpo's de verhalen rond van Shenrab Miwo? Hoe droeg de schepping van deze verhalen bij aan de ontwikkeling van bon?

Het proces van het ontstaan van de levensverhalen van de stichter van bon, zoals dat zichtbaar is in de hagiografische literatuur, dateert van rond de wisseling van het eerste millennium na Chr. Het lijkt gevoed te zijn door de opkomst van rivaliserende boeddhistische sekten, in een tijd waarin het Tibetaanse boeddhisme een renaissance onderging. In latere perioden werden deze hagiografische vertellingen door bonpo's opgevat als authentieke bronnen voor de geschiedenis van bon. Bon tradities ontwikkelden zich in die tijd enorm snel en werden een belangrijke rivaal van de Tibetaans boeddhistische sekten. De bonpo's stelden dat hun religie al lang voor de geboorte van de historische Boeddha ontstaan was. Tibetaans boeddhistische volgelingen probeerden de authenticiteit van bon in twijfel te trekken.

Zoals Stein ( 1972 en 2003b) terecht benadrukte, lijken de oudste bekende rituele praktijken in Tibet geen speciale naam te hebben gehad, maar er figureren wel rituele specialisten, die bekend stonden als *bon po*'s. De naam 'bon' voor de nieuwe religie is waarschijnlijk ontstaan als gevolg van een vereenzelvigen van de latere bon religie met de activiteiten van de vroegere rituele specialisten. In Tibetaanse documenten uit de Dunhuang periode (ca. 7e -11e eeuw na Chr.), wordt Shenrab Miwo nog niet als de stichter van bon gezien, hoewel hij wel al bekend

stond als een belangrijke religieuze figuur, zoals duidelijk wordt uit passages in niet-boeddhistische Tibetaanse rituele teksten uit Dunhuang. Hij werd waarschijnlijk pas als de stichter van bon gezien sinds de tweede verspreiding van het boeddhisme in Tibet, die begon in de 10e-11e eeuw na Chr. In competitie met de boeddhistische claim dat hun religie gesticht was door de Boeddha Śākyamuni begonnen de bonpo's er aanspraak op te maken dat hun religie gesticht werd door Shenrab Miwo en dat zij veel ouder was dan het boeddhisme. De volgelingen van bon begonnen hun religie ook te formaliseren en uit te breiden, door zich boeddhistische literatuur toe te eigenen en deze aan te passen aan hun eigen overleveringen. Op deze wijze pasten bonpo auteurs ook het legendarische verhaal van de Boeddha aan en vormden zo de eerste legendes rond Tonpa Shenrab Miwo. De keuze van Shenrab Miwo als stichter van bon werd het eerst gecanoniseerd met het ontstaan van de *mDo 'dus*. Deze tekst is gebaseerd op vroegere vertellingen, zoals die thans nog te vinden zijn in Tibetaanse geschriften uit Dunhuang; in Tibetaanse vertalingen van legendes over het leven van de Boeddha; in overgeleverde verhalen via orale tradities; en in tekstuele fragmenten die in die tijd in Tibet beschikbaar waren.

**Hoofdgedeelte (Tib. *gzhung gi don*)**

Allereerst is een overzicht van de bon religie nodig en in het bijzonder van de drie welbekende visies die westerse academische geleerden op bon ontwikkeld hebben, om zo een gedetailleerd onderzoek naar de stichter van bon mogelijk te maken. Daarom heb ik allereerst enige traditionele visies besproken, vervolgens heb ik kort eerdere studies over dit onderwerp doorgenomen, de belangrijkste data in verband met het leven van Shenrab Miwo onderzocht, alsook nader gekeken naar de naam *gshen rab mi bo*, zoals die in de Tibetaanse Dunhuang geschriften te vinden is, en heb ik er verder over nagedacht waarom latere bonpo's hem als stichter van bon hebben aangemerkt (zie hoofdstuk een).

In het tweede hoofdstuk presenteer ik de geschiedenis van de overlevering van de *mDo 'dus*. Omdat het colofon van de *mDo 'dus* geen hulp biedt bij het vaststellen van de datum van zijn tekstuele fixatie, heb ik die datum bepaald op basis van de datum van de vier grote sūtras (*'Byung khungs mdo, Chags 'jig mdo, sGrub thabs mdo* en *Khams gsum skye 'chi mdo*). Traditionele dateringen suggereren dat de vier sūtras reeds vanaf de 11e eeuw na Chr. (d.w.z. 1070 of 1081 na Chr.) bestaan. Indien, zoals vooral latere Tibetaanse geleerden geloven, de *mDo 'dus* als één van die sūtras aan te merken is, dan moet de *mDo 'dus* ook uit deze periode dateren. Dit

wordt ook ondersteund door enige passages uit de *mDo 'dus* die we vanaf de 12e eeuw in bon bronnen als citaten kunnen vinden. De tekst stond toen al bekend onder zijn korte titel.

Om een kernvraag uit dit proefschrift te kunnen beantwoorden vergelijk ik de overeenkomsten tussen de beschrijvingen over het leven van Shenrab Miwo en legendes over de Boeddha Śākyamuni (zie hoofdstuk vier; zie ook hoofdstuk drie). De vergelijkende analyse wordt in hoofdzaak uitgevoerd tussen de *mDo 'dus* en de *rGya cher rol pa*, maar strekt zich ook uit tot Jātaka verhalen. De *rGya cher rol pa*, de Tibetaanse versie van de *Lalitavistara*, is een van de eerste beschrijvingen van het leven van de Boeddha die in Tibet beschikbaar kwam en is zonder enige twijfel ouder dan de *mDo 'dus*. De vele, soms letterlijke overeenkomsten tussen de twee verhaaltradities tonen aan dat veel van de vertellingen in de *mDo 'dus* hoogstwaarschijnlijk uit vergelijkbare boeddhistische legenden zijn overgenomen. De motieven die in de bon beschrijving gebruikt worden, zoals een dier dat de baarmoeder van de moeder ingaat, de zwangerschap van tien maanden, de geboorte uit de rechteroksel van de moeder, en ook de gebeurtenissen die daarna beschreven worden, zoals de verschijningen van Brahmā en Śakra, en van een nāga die de baby een bad gaf, en de spontane groei van lotusbloemen, precies daar waar de baby zijn eerste stappen wilde zetten, al deze vormen slechts een paar van de vele duidelijke overeenkomsten. De passages zijn niet altijd geheel identiek. Maar er zijn in ieder geval talrijke gelijkenissen met de *rGya cher rol pa* te vinden. De overeenkomsten strekken zich zelfs uit tot de episode van de vijf tijgers uit het Jātaka-verhaal van de Boeddha, uit de *Jātakamālā* en het *mDzangs blun* sūtra. Deze overeenkomsten zijn niet toevallig. Ze tonen duidelijk aan dat de legende van het leven van de Boeddha, die evident al voor de *mDo 'dus* bestond, de legende over het leven van Shenrab Miwo beïnvloed heeft. Tibetaanse bonpo's schijnen de beschrijving van de Boeddha als de ware levensbeschrijving van hun stichter Shenrab Miwo te hebben opgevat en deze vervolgens in de *mDo 'dus* te hebben opgenomen.

In deze oudste beschrijving over Shenrab Miwo, de *mDo 'dus*, vinden we echter ook vele andere verhalen. Zoals aangetoond in hoofdstuk vijf, onthult de familieverwantschap tussen Shenrab Miwo en de vier koningen (de *hos* koning Dangwa Yiring, de *dpo* koning Barwe Dronmacan, de Kongpo koning Karpo en de magische koning Kongtse) aspecten in het ontstaan van de levensbeschrijving van Shenrab Miwo die evident afwijken van het levensverhaal van de Boeddha. Deze

koningen worden beschreven als de schoonvaders alsook de beschermheren van Shenrab.

De relatie tussen Shenrab en de *hos* koning maakt Shenrabs huwelijk met de *hos* prinses mogelijk, en als gevolg daarvan de betrokkenheid van twee cruciale figuren, zijn zoons Towu Bumsang (Tib. *gto bu 'bum sangs*) en Chebu Trishay (Tib. *dpyad bu khri shes*). Deze twee figuren brengen twee belangrijke onderwerpen, *gto* ritueel en *dpyad* medische diagnose, binnen het domein van de bon praktijk.

Via de ontmoeting van Shenrab met de koning van *dpo* adopteerde bon het belangrijke boeddhistische concept karma, of 'oorzaak en gevolg'. Die uitwijding lijkt later toegevoegd te zijn, omdat zij geen overtuigende verbinding vertoont met de raamvertelling van de *dpo* koning. Hierdoor vestigt de *mDo 'dus* bon als een georganiseerd geloofssysteem en onderscheidt hij bon van oude rituele offerpraktijken. Verder getuigt de opname van deze passage ook van instemming met boeddhistische theorieën over karma en over het lot na de dood. Zoals hierboven genoemd, maakte deze relatie ook het huwelijk van Shenrab en de *dpo* prinses mogelijk, die hem twee zonen schonk, genaamd Lungdren en Gyudren. De namen van de zonen zijn waarschijnlijk latere enigszins gekunstelde constructen. Zijn zoons worden, conform hun naam, beschouwd als experts in Sūtra en Tantra.

De relatie tussen Shenrab en de magische koning Kongtse maakte het mogelijk Chinese astrologie (Tib. *gtsug lag rtsis*) in het repertoire van bon op te nemen. Bonpo's schrijven hun astrologie toe aan Kongtse en aan diens kleinzoon Trulbu Chung. Kongtse werd zelfs een beschermheer van Shenrab, alsook zijn leerling, en er wordt van hem gezegd dat hij een heilig kasteel bouwde. De wijze waarop Shenrab Kongtse ontmoette en zijn schoonzoon werd, komt overeen met de wijze waarop hij de bovengenoemde twee koningen ontmoette. Het huwelijk van Shenrab en Kongtses dochter leidde tot de geboorte van een zoon, over wie gezegd wordt dat hij een expert in astrologie werd, hetgeen, zoals gezegd, de opname van astrologie in het repertoire van de bon leringen legitimeerde.

De vierde koning die in de *mDo 'dus* genoemd wordt, is de koning van Kongpo. Dat is niemand anders dan de Kongje Karpo die ook al in de Tibetaanse Dunhuang geschriften en in de Kongpo inscriptie genoemd wordt. Elementen uit de verhalen over deze koning werden dus hoogstwaarschijnlijk uit vroege historische bronnen of overleveringen overgenomen en opnieuw geïnterpreteerd, op een manier die bij de beschrijving van Shenrab paste. De ontmoeting van deze koning met Shenrab was simpelweg toeval, al resulteerde deze ontmoeting toch ook in een

nieuwe familierelatie. Shenrab huwde de prinses van Kongpo en kreeg een zoon uit deze verbintenis. Hoewel deze zoon niet speciaal gekoppeld is aan enige lering of beoefening in bon wordt hij wel beschouwd als de genealogische voorouder van de huidige *gshen* familie, een van de belangrijkste bonpo families, die ook thans nog bestaat. Deze vertelling over de koning van Kongpo dient om legitimiteit toe te voegen aan Shenrabs levensverhaal, door dit te verbinden met een bekende historische figuur en een specifieke plaats.

Zoals hierboven gezegd, laten deze gedeeltes van de *mDo 'dus*- vertellingen duidelijk het proces van incorporatie van externe verhaalelementen zien. Het belangrijkste doel van het opnemen van deze verhalen schijnt niet het presenteren van het leven van Shenrab te zijn, maar het uitbreiden van het territorium van de bon leringen, -activiteiten en leerstellige visies, en aldus het vaststellen dat disciplines als geneeskunde en astrologie feitelijk voortkwamen uit bon en onderwezen werden door Shenrab Miwo. De uitbreiding van het kennisbereik van bon werd aldus gerechtvaardigd door huwelijken en de geboorte van nakomelingen.

Verder bespreek ik hoe de persoonsnamen van Shenrabs familieleden en voorouders—zonder welke de hagiografie niet compleet zou zijn—in de *mDo 'dus* terechtgekomen zijn en wat hun mogelijke oorsprongen zijn (zie hoofdstuk zes). Deze namen zijn ook kernelementen die het verhaal van Shenrab van dat van de Boeddha onderscheiden. De naam van zijn vader wordt aangetroffen in de geschriften die in de Dunhuang grotten bewaard zijn gebleven (Pelliot tibétain 1134) en in een mogelijk oude passage in de laat 13ᵉ-eeuwse geschiedenis door Khepa Dewu. Deze verhaaltraditie is mogelijk, via een thans nog onduidelijke route, in de *mDo 'dus* terechtgekomen. Als de naam van de vader bepaald is, wordt het gemakkelijker om de naam van de moeders vast te stellen. De achtergrondbeschrijving van de moeder werd waarschijnlijk aangepast uit een bron van Indiase oorsprong. De familie van *dmangs rigs* ( Skt. *śūdra*), waarin zij geboren werd, en de activiteiten van de brahmaan in het verhaal zijn twee punten die dit ondersteunen. De lijst van Shenrabs patrilineaire overdrachtslijn werd later in andere bon bronnen op inconsistente manieren uitgebreid en uiteindelijk in de geschiedenis van Shardza (1985) gecombineerd, om één lijst te creëren. Dit toont de manier aan waarop de lijst van Shenrabs voorouders zich bleef ontwikkelen. De *mDo 'dus* geeft verder aan dat er in Shenrabs gezin negen broers waren en dat Shenrab de jongste was. Deze lijst van de negen broers komt deels overeen met de lijst van de negen leersystemen, 'De negen wegen van bon' genaamd.

**Afsluitend gedeelte (Tib. *mJug gi don*)**

In dit proefschrift tracht ik te laten zien in welke mate de verhalende beschrijvingen in de *mDo 'dus* overeenkomen met het werkelijke leven van Shenrab Miwo. Zoals ik heb aangetoond, gingen deze beschrijvingen oorspronkelijk niet echt over Shenrab, maar werden zij elders vandaan gehaald en daarna aan Shenrab gekoppeld. In andere woorden, de *mDo 'dus* is in feite een verzameling van verschillende verhalen uit een aantal vroegere tradities. Dit in tegenstelling tot wat de meeste bonpo's geloven, namelijk dat de *mDo 'dus* een echte beschrijving vormt van het leven van Shenrab Miwo.

Door dit onderzoek ben ik ervan doordrongen geraakt dat er meer vergelijkend onderzoek nodig is om de oorsprong van de levensverhalen van Shenrab Miwo volledig te kunnen begrijpen. De vergelijkende studie van bon en boeddhistische teksten, zowel vertaald naar het Tibetaans als te vinden in verscheidene Aziatische talen die niet, of niet geheel, naar het Tibetaans vertaald zijn, kunnen ons niet alleen helpen te begrijpen hoe bonpo's en boeddhisten zich van elkaar onderscheidden en hun afzonderlijke identiteiten ontwikkelden, maar zullen ook meer licht werpen op de vraag welke teksten in de vroege eeuwen van de eerste verspreiding van boeddhisme in Tibet naar het Tibetaans vertaald werden. Ik vermoed dat een dergelijke vergelijkende studie andere, thans misschien nog onbekende, aspecten van boeddhistische doctrines en rituelen aan het licht zal brengen, die in het bijzonder de bon leerstellingen en filosofie hebben beïnvloed zoals die in de *mDo 'dus* verschijnen (zie de Epiloog in hoofdstuk zeven).

# CURRICULUM VITAE

Kalsang Norbu Gurung werd geboren op 10 mei 1973, in Jomsom, de hoofdstad van Mustang District in Noordwest Nepal. Op de leeftijd van acht jaar verliet hij zijn ouderlijk huis en ging hij naar het Menri Klooster in Dolanji, Noord India, de hoofdzetel van de Bön religie, om een traditionele religieuze opleiding te ontvangen in Tibetaanse Bönpo stijl. In Dolanji volgde hij allereerst lager onderwijs, aan de Central School for Tibetan. Vanaf 1988, voor een periode van twee jaar, studeerde hij Bön filosofie, logica, Tibetaanse grammatica en poëzie aan de Bön Dialectic School in het Menri Klooster. In 1990 ging hij studeren aan het Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (CIHTS; thans Central University of Tibetan Studies, CUTS) in Varanasi. Hij behaalde zijn Shastri graad (~BA) in 1997. Daarop keerde hij terug naar het Menri klooster voor vervolgstudie en bereidde hij zich voor op een Acharya graad (~MA) aan het CIHTS, die hij in 1999 behaalde. In 2001 werd hem de maximum studiebeurs toegekend voor het Advanced Master Programme aan het CNWS van de Leidse Universiteit. In juni 2002 voltooide hij dit studieprogramma succesvol. Van 2003 tot 2005 was hij werkzaam in de bibliotheek van het Instituut Kern van de Leidse Universiteit, waar hij zich bezig hield met het catalogiseren van het Tibetaanse materiaal in de Johan van Manen collectie. Ook heeft hij gewerkt als vertaler en tolk, bij verschillende organisaties in Nederland, en gaf hij onderricht in de Tibetaanse taal, zowel individueel als in groepsverband.

Sinds 2001 heeft hij zich bezig gehouden met academisch onderzoek. Vanaf begin 2005 tot 2009 was hij werkzaam als AIO aan het CNWS, en later aan het Leiden University Institute of Area Studies (LIAS), gefinancierd door de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO), in het kader van het NWO Vidi onderzoeksprogramma, genaamd *Three Pillars of Bon* (2005–2010). Tijdens zijn promotieonderzoek verrichtte hij van augustus tot december 2005 veldwerk in India en Nepal. Hij volgde verscheidene oriëntatiecursussen, georganiseerd door de Leidse Universiteit, en lezingenseries, gegeven door gasthoogleraren. Hij heeft een aantal lezingen gegeven en papers gepresenteerd op conferenties in Duitsland, Frankrijk,

Engeland en Nederland. In 2009 ontving hij via het KNAW een J. Gonda fellowship en was hij voor zes maanden verbonden aan het International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS). Hij werkte verder als onderzoeksassistent in een onderzoeksteam dat de ontstaansgeschiedenis en verschillende vormen van zogenaamde Zhangzhung schriften bestudeerde, met financiering vanuit het genoemde NWO onderzoeks-programma. In 2007 werd hij gevraagd om lid te worden van de adviesraad van het International Seminar for Young Tibetologists (ISYT), die op dit moment haar zetel in Oxford heeft. Hij heeft meegewerkt aan de redactie van de proceedings van de eerste ISYT conferentie, gehouden in de School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) te Londen, in 2007. Hij is op dit moment betrokken bij de redactie van een tweede bundel, op basis van de ISYT conferentie in Parijs, in 2009. Sinds 2010 is hij als externe promovendus verbonden aan het LIAS. Vanaf april 2011 zal hij onderwijs geven in het Institut für Orient- und Asienwissenschaften aan de Universiteit van Bonn.